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Selections from the chief Publications of the Half-year.

RECOLLECTIONS
OF
CURRAN
AND
SOME OF HIS COTEMPORARIES.
BY CHARLES PHILLIPS, ESQ.

"He was my friend."—*Otway.*

8vo.—Pp. 407.—Price 12s.

[Memoirs of Curran, the eloquent, witty, and patriotic Irish barrister, by Phillips, on whom the mantle of his eloquence has fallen, afforded the promise of a rich repast to the literary epicure; and this anticipation will in no degree be disappointed. The work abounds in beauties; and, in selecting our specimens, we found ourselves in danger of transcribing the entire volume. We have therefore done violence to our taste in passing over many passages and pleasant anecdotes, which we could have wished to incorporate into our pages, because, in doing justice to the author's rare ability, we should have done great injustice to his publishers. The selections will, we have no doubt, tend to increase the popularity of the work, and will, we hope, be the means of adding one to the number of its editions.]

THE AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION TO
MR. CURRAN.

WHEN I was called to the bar, Mr. Curran was on the bench. Not only bagless but briefless, I was one day with many an associate taking the idle round of the hall of the Four Courts, when a common friend told me he was commissioned by the Master of the Rolls to invite me to dinner that day at the Priory, a little country villa about four miles from Dublin. Those who recollect their first introduction to a really great man, may easily comprehend my delight and my consternation. Hour after hour was counted as it passed, and, like a timid bride, I feared the one which was to make me happy. It came at last, the important five o'clock, the *ne plus ultra* of the guest who would not go dinnerless at Curran's. Never shall I forget my sensations when I caught the first glimpse

of the little man through the vista of his avenue. There he was, as a thousand times afterwards I saw him, in a dress which you would imagine he had borrowed from his tipstaff—his hands in his sides—his face almost parallel with the horizon—his under lip protruded, and the impatient step and the eternal attitude only varied by the pause during which his eye glanced from his guest to his watch; and from his watch reproachfully to his dining-room—it was an invincible peculiarity—one second after five o'clock, and he would not wait for the Viceroy. The moment he perceived me, he took me by the hand, said he would not have any one introduce me, and with a manner, which I often thought was *charmed*, at once banished every apprehension, and completely familiarized me at the Priory. I had often seen Curran—often heard of him—often read him—but no man ever knew any thing about him who did not see him at his own table with the few whom he selected. He was a little convivial deity! he soared in every region, and was at home in all—he touched every thing, and seemed as if he had created it—he mastered the human heart with the same ease that he did his violin. You wept, and you laughed, and you wondered, and the wonderful creature who made you do all at will, never let it appear that he was more than your equal, and was quite willing, if you chose, to become your auditor. It is said of Swift, that his rule was to allow a minute's pause after he had concluded, and then, if no person took up the conversation, to recommence himself. Curran had no conversational rule whatever; he spoke from impulse, and he had the art so to draw you into a participation, that, though you felt an inferiority, it was quite a contented one. Indeed, nothing could exceed the urbanity of his demeanor. At the time I speak of, he was turned of sixty, yet he was as playful as a child. The extremes of youth and age were met in him; he had the experience of the one and the simplicity of the other. At five o'clock we sat down

to dinner; at three in the morning we arose from table, and certainly half the wish of the enthusiastic lover was at least conceded—"Time," during that interval, was "annihilated." From that day till the day of his death I was his intimate and his associate. He had no party to which I was not invited; and, party or no party, I was always welcome.

TRINITY COLLEGE.

From the academy of Middleton, he passed on to Trinity College, Dublin, which he entered as a Sizar, on the 16th of June, 1767, under the tutelage of Dr. Dobbin. He obtained the second place at entrance. Curran's academical course was unmarked by any literary distinction; and, indeed, both for the college and its professors he through life entertained the most sovereign contempt. It is very little to be wondered at.

Perhaps there is not to be found in the whole history of literature, any institution so ancient and so endowed, so totally destitute of literary fame, as the Alma Mater of Ireland. With the two exceptions of Dr. Magee and Dr. Millar, there is scarcely a single fellow of modern times who has produced a work which is not beneath contempt; and the English reader should be informed, that a fellowship in Dublin College is an office of no inconsiderable emolument. Seven of the fellows are permanent stipendiaries on the institution, whose united salaries, &c. are little less than 10,000*l.* a-year. There is a whole host of junior fellows, whose incomes are very considerable, and a variety of livings from 1800*l.* a-year downward, upon which they are billeted, as Death takes his revenge upon the extern incumbents for a too free enjoyment of the comforts of this world. Swift, more than a century ago, described the site of his "Legion Club" to be,—

"Scarce a bow-shot from the college—

Half the globe from sense or knowledge,"—

and so prophetic, as well as poetic, were the lines, that it has ever since received, both at Cambridge and at Oxford, the ignominious appellation of "*The Silent Sister.*"

HIS CALL TO THE BAR.

In the year 1775, with, as he said himself, no living possession but a pregnant wife, he was called to the bar of Ireland. To that enlightened body, as at that day constituted, the "future men" of this country may be allowed to turn with an excusable and, in some sort, a national satisfaction. There were to be found her

nobles, her aristocracy, her genius, her learning, and her patriotism, all concentrated within that little circle. No insolent pretension in the high frowned down the intellectual splendour of the humble—education compensated the want of birth—industry supplied the inferiority of fortune—and the law, which, in its suitors, knew no distinction but of justice, in its professors acknowledged none except that of merit. In other countries, where this glorious profession is degraded into a trade—where cunning supplies the place of intellect, and an handicraft mechanism is the substitute for mind—where, in Curran's peculiar phrase, "men begin to measure their depth by their darkness, and to fancy themselves profound because they feel they are perplexed"—no idea can be formed of that illustrious body—of the learning that informed, the genius that inspired, and the fire that warmed it; of the wit that relieved its wisdom, and the wisdom that dignified its wit; of the generous emulation that cherished while it contended; of the spotless honour that shone no less in the hereditary spirit of the highly born, than in the native integrity of the more humble aspirant; but, above all, of that lofty and unbending patriotism that at once won the confidence, and enforced the imitation, of the country. It is not to be questioned, that to the bar of that day the people of Ireland looked up in every emergency with the most perfect reliance upon their talent and their integrity. It was then the nursery of the parliament and the peerage. There was scarcely a noble family in the land that did not enrol its elect in that body, by the study of law and the exercise of eloquence, to prepare them for the field of legislative exertion; and there not unfrequently there arose a genius from the very lowest of the people, who won his way to the distinctions of the senate, and wrested from pedigree the highest honours and offices of the constitution.

LORD CLONMELL.

Amongst those who were most distinguished when Mr. Curran came to the bar, and with whom afterwards, as chief justice, he not unfrequently came in collision, was Mr. John Scott, afterwards better known by the title of Lord Clonmell. This person sprung from a very humble rank of life, and raised himself to his subsequent elevation, partly by his talents, partly by his courage, and, though last not least, by his very superior knowledge of the world. During the stormy

stormy administration of Lord Townsend, he, on the recommendation of Lord Lifford, the then chancellor, was elected to a seat in the House of Commons, and, from that period, advanced gradually through the subordinate offices to his station on the bench. In the year 1770, and during the succeeding sessions, he had to encounter, almost alone, an opposition headed by Mr. Flood, and composed of as much effective hostility as ever faced a treasury bench. His powers were rather versatile than argumentative; but, when he failed to convince, he generally succeeded in diverting; and, if he did not, by the gravity of his reasoning, dignify the majority to which he sedulously attached himself, he at all events covered their retreat with an exhaustless quiver of alternate sarcasm and ridicule. Added to this, he had a perseverance not to be fatigued, and a personal intrepidity altogether invincible. When he could not overcome, he swaggered; and when he could not bully, he fought. The asperities of his public conduct were, however, invisible in private. He was stored with anecdote; seldom, it is true, very delicate in the selection: but his companionable qualities were well seconded by the fidelity of his friendships; and it is recorded of him, that he never made an insincere profession or forgot a favour. On the bench, indeed, and in some instances with Mr. Curran, he was occasionally very overbearing; but a bar such as I have described was not easily to be overborne; and for some asperity to a barrister of the name of Hackett, he was, after a professional meeting of the body, at which, though chief justice, he had but one supporter, obliged to confess and apologize for his misconduct in the public papers! The death of Lord Clonmell is said to have originated in a very curious incident. In the year 1792, Mr. John Magee, the spirited proprietor of the *Dublin Evening Post*, had a fiat issued against him in a case of libel for a sum which the defendant thought excessive. The bench and the press were directly committed; and, in such a case, had a judge tenfold the power he has, he would be comparatively harmless. The subject made a noise—was brought before parliament—and was at last, at least politically, set at rest by the defeat of the chief justice, and the restriction of the judges in future, in such cases, to an inferior and a definite sum. Discomfited and mortified, Lord Clonmell retreated from the contest; but he retreated like

an harpooned leviathan—the barb was in his back, and Magee held the cordage. He made the life of his enemy a burden to him: he exposed his errors; denied his merits; magnified his mistakes; ridiculed his pretensions; and, continually edging without overstepping the boundary of libel, poured upon the chief justice from the battery of the press a perpetual broadside of sarcasm and invective. “The man,” says Dr. Johnson, challenging Junius—“the man who vilifies established authority, is sure to find an audience.” Lord Clonmell too fatally verified the apophthegm. Wherever he went he was lampooned by a ballad-singer, or laughed at by the populace. Nor was Magee’s arsenal composed exclusively of paper ammunition: he rented a field bordering his lordship’s highly improved and decorated demesne; he advertised month after month that on such a day he would exhibit, in this field, a *grand olympic pig hunt*—that the people, out of gratitude for their patronage of his newspaper, should be gratuitous spectators of this revived *classical* amusement, and that he was determined to make so amazing a provision of whiskey and porter, that if any man went home thirsty it should be his own fault. The plan completely succeeded—hundreds and thousands assembled—every man did justice to his entertainer’s hospitality, and his lordship’s magnificent demesne, uprooted and desolate, next day exhibited nothing but *the ruins of the olympic pig-hunt!* The rebellion approached—the popular exasperation was at its height—and the end of it was, that Magee went mad with his victory, and Lord Clonmell died literally broken-hearted with his defeat and his apprehensions.

WALTER HUSSEY BURGH.

Another, but a very different character, at that time in high eminence at the Irish bar, was the justly celebrated Walter Hussey Burgh, a man revered by his profession, idolized by his friends, loved by the people, honoured by the crown, and highly respected even by those who differed from him. The history of no country, perhaps, hands down a character on its records upon which there exists less difference of opinion, than on that of Hussey Burgh. As a man, benevolent, friendly, sincere, and honest; as a barrister, learned, eloquent, ardent, and disinterested; as a senator, in power respected by the opposition—and out of it by the ministry; he was always allowed principle, and heard with

delight. His life was one continued glow of intellectual splendour; and, when he sunk, the bar, the senate, and the country, felt a temporary eclipse. Of his eloquence, the reporters of that day were too ignorant faithfully to transmit any fair memorial to posterity; and the memory of his few remaining contemporaries rather retains the general admiration of its effect, than any particular specimen of his language. I have heard but of one sentence which has escaped unmutated. Speaking of the oppressive laws which had coerced Ireland, and ended in the universal resistance of the people and the establishment of the volunteers, he warmed by degrees into the following fine classical allusion: "Yes," said he, "such laws were sown like the *dragon's teeth* in my country; but, thank God, the harvest has been *armed men*!" The fire of his manner, the silver tone of his voice, the inimitable graces of his action, all combined, gave such irresistible effect to this simple sentence so delivered, and addressed to an audience so prepared, that an universal burst of enthusiasm is said to have issued from the house, and to have been echoed by the galleries.

JOHN HELY HUTCHINSON.

Another barrister, who had immediately preceded the period of Mr. Curran, was the Right Hon. John Hely Hutchinson, the founder of a very distinguished family. From every account, he must have been a most extraordinary personage. After having amassed a large fortune at the bar, and held a distinguished seat in the senate, he accepted the provostship of Trinity College, and was, I believe, the first person promoted to that rank, who had not previously obtained a fellowship. His appointment gave great offence to the university; but he little heeded the resentment which was the consequence of any pecuniary promotion; and, indeed, such was his notoriety in this respect, that Lord Townsend, wearied out with his applications, is reported to have exclaimed, "By G—! if I gave Hutchinson England and Ireland for an estate, he would solicit the Isle of Man for a *potatoe-garden*!" The whole college combined against him, but it was only to prove the imbecility of mere bookworms, when opposed to a man of the world. "The provost," said Goldsmith, "stands like an arch—every additional pressure only shows his strength." He justified the observation—withstood all his enemies;

and is said, when he was at the head of the university, actually to have had one of his daughters gazetted for a majority of horse, which commission she held for several days, until an opportunity offered for her *selling out to advantage*! It will readily be believed that the man who could thus captivate the court and command the university, must have been no very ordinary personage. Yet he owed his power much more to his genius than his servility. With no common influence at the castle, he is well known to have differed with ministers upon the most important questions—among the rest, the catholic; and to have re-seated himself upon the treasury bench with an influence rendered more respectable by the proofs of his independence. It is very true that he provided amply for his family; and I am glad he did so, because on many occasions they have proved themselves ornaments to their country. If it was a weakness, it was at all events an amiable one; and few there were in political life who have had the good fortune to find, in the merits of its objects, such a justification for their partiality. The provost seems to have been born a courtier. He had the power beyond almost all men of disguising his emotions; and, when he chose, you might just as easily have extorted from a mask, as from his countenance, what was passing within him. Of this faculty there is a memorable instance given in his treatment of Dr. Magee, the present Dean of Cork, and author of the celebrated work on the Atonement. Hutchinson was provost, and had proposed his son for the representation of the university. Magee was a fellow, and had a vote. The fellows, after a certain time, must be ordained, unless they obtain a dispensation from the provost; and such dispensation was the wish next Magee's heart, as his rare talents must have raised him to the very highest station at the bar. He was given to understand it would be granted provided he voted for the provost's son. This, however, a previous promise (which, of course, he was too honourable to violate) withheld him from doing. The provost had just heard of the refusal, and was in a paroxysm of rage when Magee came to solicit the dispensation: his face was instantly all sunshine; with the most ineffable sweetness he took the offending applicant by the hand—"My dear Sir, consider," said he, "*I am placed guardian over the youth of Ireland*—How could I answer it to

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my conscience or my country if I deprived the university of such a tutor!" "Never," said Magee, repeating the anecdote, "never did politician look deceit so admirably."

HIS FIRST RETAINER.

The first fee of any consequence which he received was through Lord Kilwarden's recommendation; and his recital of the incident cannot be without its interest to the young professional aspirant, whom a temporary neglect may have sunk into dejection. "I then lived," said he, "upon Hog Hill; my wife and children were the chief furniture of my apartments; and, as to my rent, it stood pretty much the same chance of its liquidation with the national debt. Mrs. Curran, however, was a barrister's lady, and what she wanted in wealth, she was well determined should be supplied by dignity. The landlady, on the other hand, had no other idea of any gradation except that of pounds, shillings, and pence. I walked out one morning to avoid the perpetual altercations on the subject; with my mind, you may imagine, in no very enviable temperament. I fell into the gloom to which, from my infancy, I had been occasionally subject. I had a family for whom I had no dinner; and a landlady for whom I had no rent. I had gone abroad in despondence—I returned home almost in desperation. When I opened the door of my study, where Lavater alone could have found a library, the first object which presented itself was an immense folio of a brief, twenty golden guineas wrapped up beside it, and the name of Old Bob Lyons marked upon the back of it. I paid my landlady—bought a good dinner—gave Bob Lyons a share of it—and that dinner was the date of my prosperity." Such was his own exact account of his professional advancement.

Bob Lyons, the attorney, was a perfect, but indeed a very favourable, specimen of a class of men now quite extinct in Ireland, and never perhaps known in any other country in creation. They were a kind of compound of the rack-rent squire and the sharp law practitioner; careless and craving—extravagant and usurious—honourable and subtle—just as their education or their nature happened to predominate at the moment. They had too much ignorant conceit not to despise the profession, and too many artificial wants not at times to have recourse to its *arcana*. The solicitor of the morning was the host of the evening;

the invitation perhaps came on the back of the *capias*, and the gentleman of undoubted Milesian origin capped the climax of his innumerable bumpers with toasting confusion to the gentleman by act of parliament. This race of men, a genus in themselves distinct and peculiar, grew like an excrescence upon the system of the country: the Irish squire of half a century ago, scorned not to be in debt; it would be beneath his dignity to live within his income; and next to not incurring a debt, the greatest degradation would have been voluntarily to pay one. The consequence necessarily of creditors was law, and the indispensable consequence of law was an attorney: but those whom law estranged, the table re-united—the squire became reconciled to the attorney over a bottle—to avoid his process he made him his agent, and the estate soon passed from their alternate possession by the same course of ruinous prodigality.

HIS FORENSIC TALENTS.

From this period he began rapidly to rise in professional estimation. There was no cause in the metropolis of any interest in which he was not concerned, nor was there a county in the provinces which, at some time or other, he did not visit on a special retainer. It was an object almost with every one to pre-occupy so successful or so dangerous an advocate; for, if he failed in inducing a jury to sympathize with his client, he at all events left a picture of his adversary behind him, which survived and embittered the advantages of victory. Nor was his eloquence his only weapon: at cross-examination, the most difficult and by far the most hazardous part of a barrister's profession, he was quite inimitable. There was no plan which he did not detect—no web which he did not disentangle—and the unfortunate wretch who commenced with all the confidence of pre-concerted perjury, never failed to retreat before him in all the confusion of exposure. Indeed, it was almost impossible for the guilty to offer a successful resistance. He argued—he cajoled—he ridiculed—he mimicked—he played off the various artillery of his talent upon the witness—he would affect earnestness upon trifles, and levity upon subjects of the most serious import, until at length he succeeded in creating a security that was fatal, or a sullenness that produced all the consequences of prevarication. No matter how unfair the topic, he never failed to avail himself of it; acting upon the principle, that in law, as well as in war,

war, every stratagem was admissible. If he was hard pressed, there was no peculiarity of person—no singularity of name—no eccentricity of profession, at which he would not grasp,—trying to confound the self-possession of the witness in the, no matter how excited, ridicule of the audience. To a witness of the name of *Halfpenny* he once began, *Halfpenny, I see you're a rap, and for that reason you shall be nailed to the counter.*—“*Halfpenny is sterling,*” exclaimed the opposite counsel.—“No, no,” said he, “he’s exactly like his own conscience, only *copper washed.*”

To *Lundy Foot*, the celebrated tobacconist, once hesitating on the table—“*Lundy—that’s a poser—a devil of a pinch.*” This was the gentleman who applied to Curran for a motto, when he first established his carriage. “Give me one, my dear Curran,” said he, “of a serious cast, because I am afraid the people will laugh at a tobacconist setting up a carriage, and, *for the scholarship’s sake*, let it be in Latin.”—“I have just hit on it,” said Curran—“it is only two words, *Lundy*, and it will at once explain your profession, your elevation, and your contempt for their ridicule, and it has the advantage of being in two languages, Latin or English, just as the reader chooses—put up ‘*Quid rides*’ upon your carriage.”

Inquiring his master’s age from an horse-jockey’s servant, he found it almost impossible to extract an answer. “Come, come, friend—has he not lost his teeth?”—“Do you think,” retorted the fellow, “that I know his age as he does his horse’s, by the *mark of mouth*?” The laugh was against Curran, but he instantly recovered—“You were very right not to try, friend; for you know your master’s a *great bite.*”

He was just rising to cross-examine a witness before a judge who could not comprehend any jest which was not written in *black letter*. Before he said a single word, the witness began to laugh. “What are you laughing at, friend—what are you laughing at? Let me tell you that a laugh without a joke is like—is like——” “Like what, Mr. Curran?” asked the judge, imagining he was nonplussed—“Just exactly, my lord, like a *contingent remainder* without any particular *estate* to support it.”—I am afraid none but my legal readers will understand the admirable felicity of the similitude, but it was quite to his lordship’s fancy, and rivalled with him all “the wit that *Rabelais* ever scattered.”

Examining a country squire who disputed a collier’s bill—“Did he not give you the *coals*, friend?”—“He did, sir, but——” “But what?—on your oath wasn’t your payment *slack*?”

It was thus that in some way or other he contrived to throw the witnesses off their centre, and he took care they seldom should recover it. “My lord, my lord”—vociferated a peasant witness, writhing under this mental excruciation—“My lord, my lord—I can’t answer yon little gentleman, *he’s putting me in such a doldrum.*”—“A doldrum! Mr. Curran, what does he mean by a *doldrum*?” exclaimed lord Avonmore. “O! my lord, it’s a very common complaint with persons of this description—it’s merely a *confusion of the head arising from a corruption of the heart.*”

He was addressing a jury on one of the state trials in 1803 with his usual animation. The judge, whose political bias, if any a judge can have, was certainly supposed not to be favourable to the prisoner, *shook his head* in doubt or denial of one of the advocate’s arguments. “I see, gentlemen,” said Mr. Curran, “I see the motion of his lordship’s head; common observers might imagine that implied a difference of opinion, but they would be mistaken—it is merely accidental—believe me, gentlemen, if you remain here many days, you will yourselves perceive that when his lordship *shakes his head* there’s *nothing in it*!”

THE MONKS OF THE SCREW.

His convivial habits were never interrupted; and a society was formed of the choicest spirits in the metropolis, in which Curran contributed more than his proportion of amusement. Of the hours passed in this society he ever afterwards spoke with enthusiasm. “Those hours,” said he, addressing Lord Avonmore as a judge, and wringing tears from his aged eyes at the recollection,—“those hours which we can remember with no other regret than that they can return no more”—

“We spent them not in toys, or lust, or wine;

But search of deep philosophy,

Wit, eloquence, and poesy,

Arts which I loved; for they, my friend, were thine.”

This society was entitled, no doubt very appropriately, “*The Monks of the Screw.*” It met on every Saturday during the law term, in a large house in Kevin’s Street, the property of the late Lord Tracton, and now converted into a Seneschal’s Court! The furniture and regulations of

of their festive apartment were completely *monkish*, and they owed both their title and their foundation to an original society formed near Newmarket by Lord Avonmore; of which he drew up the rules in very quaint and comic monkish Latin verse. The reader may have some idea of what a delightful intercourse this society must have afforded, when he hears that Flood, Grattan, Curran, Father O'Leary, Lord Charlemont, Judges Day, Chamberlaine, and Metge; Bowes Daly, George Ogle, Lord Avonmore, Mr. Keller, and an whole host of such men, were amongst its members. Curran was installed Grand Prior of the order, and deputed to compose the charter song. I have often heard him repeat it at his own table in a droll kind of recitative, but it is a little too bacchanalian for publication. It began thus—

When Saint Patrick our order created,
And called us the Monks of the Screw,
Good rules he revealed to our abbot,
To guide us in what we should do.
But first he replenished his fountain
With liquor the best in the sky,
And he swore by the word of his saintship,
That fountain should never ran dry.
My children, be chaste till you're tempted,—
While sober, be wise and discreet—
And humble your bodies with fasting,
Whene'er you've got nothing to eat.
Then be not a glass in the convent,
Except on a festival, found—
And this rule to enforce, I ordain it
A festival—all the year round.

Saint Patrick, the tutelary idol of the country, was their patron saint; and his Lilliputian statue, mitred and crosiered, after having for years consecrated their monkish revels, was transferred to the convivial sideboard of the Priory. If that little statue was half as sensitive to the beams of wit, as the work of Memnon was to the sunbeam, how often would its immortal master have made it eloquent!

LORD AVONMORE.

Eminent in this society, and indeed in every other society of which he was a member, was Barry Yelverton, afterwards Lord Avonmore, the early friend of Curran, the companion of all his dearest enjoyments, the occasional rival of his talents, or victim of his whims, and, to the day of his death, the theme of his idolatry. His character has been drawn by Sir Jonah Barrington, in his admirable work on the Union, with such a powerful hand, and, as I have heard acknowledged by Mr. Curran, with such scrupu-

lous fidelity, that I shall give it an entire transcription.

"It would be difficult to do justice to the lofty and overwhelming elocution of this distinguished man, during the early period of his political exertions. To the profound, logical, and conclusive reasoning of Flood; the brilliant, stimulating, epigrammatic antithesis of Grattan; the sweet-toned, captivating, convincing rhetoric of Burgh; or the wild fascinating imagery, and varied pathos of the extraordinary Curran, he was respectively inferior;—but in powerful, nervous language, he excelled them all.

"His talents were alike adapted to public purposes, as his private qualities to domestic society. In the common transactions of the world he was an infant; in the varieties of right and wrong, of propriety and error, a frail mortal; in the senate and at the bar, a mighty giant; it was on the bench that, unconscious of his errors, and in his home, unconscious of his virtues, both were most conspicuous. That deep-seated vice, which with equal power freezes the miser's heart, and inflames the ruffian's passions, was to him a stranger: he was always rich, and always poor; but, though circumstances might sometimes have been his guide, avarice never was his conductor: like his great predecessor, frugality fled before the carelessness of his mind, and left him the victim of his liberality, and, of course, in many instances, a monument of ingratitude. His character was entirely transparent, it had no opaque qualities; his passions were open; his prepossessions palpable; his failings obvious; and he took as little pains to conceal his faults as to publish his perfections.

"As a judge, he certainly had some of those marked imperfections too frequently observable in judicial officers: he received impressions too soon, and perhaps too strongly; he was indolent in research, and impatient in discussion; the natural quickness of his perception hurried off his judgment, before he had time to regulate it, and sometimes left his justice and his learning idle spectators of his reasons and his determination; while extraneous considerations occasionally obtruded themselves upon his unguarded mind, and involuntarily led him away from the straight path of calm deliberation.

"This distinguished man, at the critical period of Ireland's emancipation, burst forth as a meteor in the Irish senate: his career in the Commons was not

not long—but it was busy and important; he had connected himself with the Duke of Portland, and continued that connexion uninterrupted till the day of his dissolution. But through the influence of that nobleman, and the absolute necessity of a family provision, on the question of the Union, the radiance of his public character was obscured for ever; the laurels of his early achievements fell withered from his brow; and, after having with zeal and sincerity laboured to attain independence for his country in 1782, he became one of its sale-masters in 1800; and, mingling in a motley crowd, uncongenial to his native character, and beneath his natural superiority, he surrendered the rights, the franchises, and the honours of that peerage, to which, by his great talents and his early virtues, he had been so justly elevated.

He and Curran were to dine together at the house of a mutual friend, and a large party was assembled, many of whom witnessed the occurrences of the morning. Curran, contrary to all his usual habits, was late for dinner, and at length arrived in the most admirably affected agitation. "Why, Mr. Curran, you have kept us a full hour waiting dinner for you," grumbled out Lord Avonmore. "Oh, my dear lord, I regret it much; you must know it is not my custom, but—I've just been witness to a most melancholy occurrence." "My God! you seem terribly moved by it—take a glass of wine—what was it? What was it?"—"I will tell you, my lord, the moment I can collect myself—I had been detained at court—in the Court of Chancery—your lordship knows the Chancellor sits late."—"I do—I do—but go on."—"Well, my lord, I was hurrying here as fast as ever I could—I did not even change my dress—I hope I shall be excused for coming in my boots?"—"Poh, poh—never mind your boots—the point—come at once to the point of the story."—"Oh—I will, my good lord, in a moment—I walked here—I would not even wait to get the carriage ready it would have taken time, you know—now there is a market exactly in the road by which I had to pass—your lordship may perhaps recollect the market—do you?"—"To be sure I do—go on, Curran—go on with the story."—"I am very glad your lordship remembers the market, for I totally forget the name of it—the name—the name—" "What the devil signifies the name of it, sir?—it's the Castle Market."—"Your lordship

is perfectly right—it is called the Castle Market.—Well, I was passing through that very identical Castle Market, when I observed a butcher preparing to kill a calf—he had a huge knife in his hand—it was as sharp as a razor—the calf was standing beside him—he drew the knife to plunge it into the animal—just as he was in the act of doing so, a little boy about four years old—his only son—the loveliest little babe I ever saw, ran suddenly across his path—and he killed! O! my God, he killed—"The child!—the child!—the child!" vociferated Lord Avonmore.—"No, my lord, *the calf*," continued Curran, very coolly—"he killed the calf—but—*your lordship is in the habit of anticipating*." The universal laugh was thus raised against his lordship, and Curran declared that often afterwards, a first impression was removed more easily from the Court of Exchequer, by the recollection of the calf in the Castle Market, than by all the eloquence of the entire profession.

Amongst his other peculiarities, he was in the habit of occasional fits of absence. One day at a crowded dinner, the common toast of our *absent friends* was given. Curran, as usual, sat beside Lord Avonmore, who was immersed in one of his habitual reveries, altogether unconscious of what was passing. He maliciously aroused him—"Yelverton—Yelverton—the host just announced your health in very flattering terms; it is considered very cavalier in you not to have acknowledged it." Up started the unsuspecting Yelverton, and it was not till after a very eloquent speech that he was apprised of the hoax in which it had originated!

When the draft of the patent was sent to Lord Avonmore for his approbation, he called into his study a few friends, and among the rest Mr. Curran, to see if all was right. The wording ran in the usual form:—"To all to whom these letters patent shall come, greeting, We, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. &c." Mr. Curran, when the reader came to this part, exclaimed, "Stop, stop!"—"Why should he stop, sir?" said Lord Avonmore.—"Why, because it strikes me, my lord, that the *consideration* is set out too early in the deed."

THE DUKE OF RUTLAND.

During the administration of the Duke of Rutland, Mr. Curran continued in parliament and in opposition. Indeed, so unpopular was this nobleman in Ireland, that, on his first presentation at the

the theatre he was publicly hooted by the populace. His vice-royalty was the scene of much stormy contention, and much political importance in the House of Commons, but he was himself wholly devoted to his private pleasures. It was said he was sent to drink the Irish into good humour, and his court was the residence of riot and dissipation. The taste of the duke himself was by no means the most refined, nor was his majesty the most dignified in the world. A celebrated courtesan of the name of Peg Plunket occupied his attention much more than the privy-council, and sometimes unconsciously shared even the honours of royalty. It is a notorious fact, that, one evening, losing all recollection in her society, he forgot that he had been accompanied by a guard of honour, and morning dawned upon a troop of dragoons parading before her lodgings in attendance upon his excellency! I have heard Curran relate two anecdotes of this woman, which he said were in universal circulation at the time. The duke had gone in state to the theatre. The whole vice-regal suite was assembled—chamberlain, pages, aids-de-camp, &c. &c. The favourite, as usual, graced the lattices. A fellow in the gallery recognized her, and, wishing to mortify the duke, who was very unpopular, bellowed out most unceremoniously, “Peg—Peg—who was your companion yesterday evening?”—“*Manners*, fellow, *manners*,” retorted Peg, affecting to rebuke him. It is unnecessary to add that *Manners* is the name of the Rutland family.

At another time, a lady of rank, ignorant of the person to whom she had been referred, went to inquire the character of a dismissed servant. In a short time, however, she discovered her mistake, and was very naturally greatly disconcerted. "Oh," said she, immediately, with the most perfect *sang-froid*, "I beg your ladyship may not be in the least alarmed—I shall let you away through the back door which I had made *for the accommodation of the Irish Bishops.*"

The duke died, according to the account of Mr. Hardy, Lord Charlemont's biographer, of a fever produced by excessive dissipation, at the age of thirty-three!

LORD CLARE.

The consequence of an altercation in the House of Commons was a message from Mr. Fitzgibbon; and the parties, having met, were left to fire when they chose. "I never," said Mr. Curran, relating the circumstances of the meeting—"I never saw any one whose de-

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termination seemed more malignant than Fitzgibbon's; after I had fired, he took aim at me for at least half a minute, and, on its proving ineffectual, I could not help exclaiming to him, "It was not your fault, Mr. Attorney; you *were deliberate enough.*" The Attorney-General declared his honour satisfied; and here, at least for the present, the dispute appeared to terminate.

Not here, however, terminated Fitzgibbon's animosity. His zeal, his politics, his exertions on the subject of the Regency, and his unquestionable abilities, raised him to the seals on the resignation of Lord Lifford, during whose judicial life Curran was rising rapidly to the fame and emoluments of the chancery practice. From the moment of his elevation, Lord Clare, on every occasion, exhibited his hatred of the politician by his neglect of the advocate. At length the agents observed this marked hostility—the ear of the judge, as it is called, was lost—the client participated in the unpopularity of his counsel, and Curran's practice was soon confined exclusively to *Nisi Prius*. “I made,” said Mr. Curran, in a letter addressed to Mr. Grattan, twenty years after,—“I made no compromise with power; I had the merit of provoking and despising the personal malice of every man in Ireland, who was the known enemy of the country. Without the walls of the court of justice, my character was pursued with the most persevering slander; and within those walls, though I was too strong to be beaten down by any judicial malignity, it was not so with my clients; and my consequent losses in professional income have never been estimated at less, as you must have often heard, than 30,000*l*.” The incidents attendant upon this disagreement were, at times, ludicrous in the extreme. One day, when it was known that Curran was to make an elaborate argument in Chancery, Lord Clare brought a large Newfoundland dog upon the bench with him; and, during the progress of the argument, he lent his ear much more to the dog than to the barrister. This was observed at length by the entire profession. In time, the chancellor lost all regard for decency; he turned himself quite aside in the most material part of the case, and began, in full court, to fondle the animal. Curran stopped at once.—“Go on, go on, Mr. Curran,” said Lord Clare, who certainly had much of the coxcomb in his manner—“O! I beg a thousand pardons, my lord; I really took it for granted that
4 F
you

your lordship was employed in consultation."

HIS OPINIONS OF MEN.

Speaking of Dr. Johnson, whom he could not bear, he once violently exclaimed, "Sir, he was intolerant, and an intolerable dogmatist; in learning, a pedant; in religion, a bigot; in manners, a savage; and in politics, a slave." Characterizing the late Lord Avonmore as a judge—"Oh," said he, "the poor fellow on his death-bed could have had no more selfish wish than that justice should be administered to him in the world to come, in the same spirit with which he distributed it in this."

Speaking of Mr. Fox's social manners, I remember his using a very curious, and, as some have said, a very happy illustration.—"Fox," said he, "was by no means unsusceptible of humour; when I have trembled before him, I have caught a smile rippling the fine Atlantic of his countenance."

MR. PETER FINNERTY.

Mr. Finnerty was the publisher of a newspaper called *The Press*, to which the most distinguished literary characters of the opposition of that day contributed. I have every reason to believe that Mr. Curran himself was amongst the number. The circumstances in which the prosecution against Mr. Finnerty originated, were these: a person of the name of William Orr had been tried and convicted at a preceding assizes of Carrickfergus, before Lord Avonmore, for administering an unlawful oath. Some of the jury who tried Orr were induced subsequently to make an affidavit, declaring that they were intoxicated when they agreed to their verdict, and beseeching that mercy might be extended to the convict. The memoir was transmitted to the Castle. Orr was several times respited; but, after the mature deliberation of the Privy Council, the law was allowed to take its course, and he was accordingly executed. His fate excited great interest at the time, and the circumstances attending it underwent much discussion. A letter, bearing the signature of Marcus, appeared in the *Press* upon the subject, couched in very indignant and very eloquent language. Mr. Finnerty was indicted as publisher, tried, convicted, and pilloried in consequence. The result, however, was considered very far from discreditable to him, and his punishment was regarded as a sort of penal triumph. He was accompanied by some of the most leading men in the country, and repeatedly and enthusias-

tically cheered by the populace. The political feeling of the day was strongly in his favour; the trial, on which his paper had descanted, was in the mildest parlance a very singular one; and, more than all, it was generally, and, I believe, truly understood, that Mr. Finnerty might have averted the prosecution from himself, by surrendering Marcus up to the vengeance of the government. This, however, his principles restrained him from doing; and his highly honourable determination converted, in the estimation of many, the convict into the martyr. Mr. Curran, who managed his defence, was not ashamed of his intimacy, and, to my knowledge, held him to the day of his death in a very high degree of estimation. Finnerty was one of the few admitted to his funeral. Curran's speech, upon the trial of this gentleman, is a masterpiece of eloquence, and it is difficult to select one passage more splendid than another.

THE BLOODY 1798.

Shortly after Mr. Finnerty's trial, the year 1798, a year written in blood in the annals of Ireland, arrived. Whether the account of the proceedings of government, as detailed by Mr. Curran in the preceding speech, be true, or whether the natural spirits of the Irish people led them to an unjustifiable discontent against their rulers, it is not for me to decide; but a rebellion was now engendered, quite unparalleled in the ferocity of its character. The people rose in great strength in different quarters, and a French invasion in some degree organized the exasperated rabble. It would be revolting to repeat, and perhaps impossible to convince, the English reader of all the miseries which the violence of one party, and the fierce, unsparing, and unpitying reprisals of the other, inflicted during this frightful period. Military tribunals superseded law; summary executions excluded mercy; and rape, murder, torture, and conflagration, alternately depopulated and deformed the country. At such a season, Justice might be said not to have time to deliberate. Her victims were often denounced indiscriminately; often selected by personal hatred or religious prejudice; and too often desperately flung upon the pile rebellion lighted, in the hope that blood might drown its conflagration! It was a tremendous scene: government, on the one hand, terrified into desperation; sedition, on the other, preferring death to endurance; and, in the few intervals which fatigue, rather than humanity, created,

created, Religion waving aloft her "fiery cross," and exciting her clans to a renewal of the combat! The animosity rose at last to such an height, that political differences were almost considered as revolutionary symptoms; and the man, who dared be liberal, seldom escaped the imputation of being rebellious. The consequence was, that the principal political opponents of government retired from the country. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, and the slightest suspicious surmise was the prelude to a lingering imprisonment. Mr. Curran's situation was at this period extremely critical. Many barristers were implicated in the political transactions of the day; and his language, always constitutional, had been, however, always in a tone of high defiance. He was certainly marked out by the adherents of government as peculiarly obnoxious; and many there were who would with pleasure have seen him ascend that scaffold, which he was every day despoiling of its almost predestined victims. It is said, indeed, that he was at this time indebted for his security to the good Lord Kilwarden, who, from the very infancy of his professional career, seems to have watched over him like a guardian angel. Be this as it may, however, he plainly proved that he was not to be intimidated. He stood boldly and even indignantly forward, commencing what might be called a system of defensive denunciation. He advocated the accused; he arraigned the government; he thundered against the daily exhibition of torture; he held up the informers to universal execration; and, at the hourly hazard of the bayonet or the dungeon, he covered the selected victim with the shield of the constitution. It is at this period of his professional career that the friend of liberty must delight to contemplate him. If he had not been, at least politically, as unstained as the ermine, he must have fallen a victim; and, with this consciousness, how nobly does he appear, wielding all the energies of law and eloquence in defence of the accused! Many there are who may well remember him rising in the midst of his *military audience*, only excited by the manifest indignation of their aspect to renewed and more undaunted efforts. In every great case of high-treason, he was almost invariably assigned as counsel; and those who have throbbed with delight over the eloquence he exhibited, will grieve to hear that, at the very time, he was oppressed by severe personal indisposition,

and obliged to submit, in a few months after, to a very severe surgical operation.

MR. GODWIN.

His intimacy with Mr. Godwin was of long duration, and he very much esteemed him. Indeed, so reciprocal was their affection for one another, that Mr. Godwin has dedicated his last novel to "the memory of Curran, the sincerest friend he ever had." The dedication, of which there is no living man but might be proud, is very creditable to the independence of Mr. Godwin's character. Indeed, during their entire intercourse, the most unrestrained sincerity existed; and of this, upon the part of Godwin, Curran used to relate a very ludicrous and characteristic instance. Godwin had gone on a visit to the Priory, where he had at once an opportunity of enjoying the society of his friend, and of studying the manners of a new people. During the visit, one of those forensic occasions occurred, which called forth the full display of Curran's oratorical talents. He was naturally anxious that his English guest should hear him to advantage; and he not only brought him to court in his carriage, but took care that he should have every convenient accommodation in the gallery. The cause came on; Curran exerted all his powers; and never, in the opinion of many, with happier effect. The carriage was ordered, and the orator took his station, fully prepared for Godwin's valuable eulogium. There was the most provoking silence: the weather, the bridges, the buildings, in short, the most commonplace topics, alone interrupted it. Curran at length lost all patience: "What did you think, my dear Godwin, of our cause to-day?"—"O! I had forgotten," answered the philosopher, with the utmost apathy; "I am very glad I heard you, Curran; I think I can now form some idea of *your manner!*" The panegyric was certainly not very extravagant; and Curran never failed afterwards, with the most jocular simplicity, half jest, half earnest, to relate it as an instance of Godwin's *want of taste*.

LORD ERSKINE.

They met at the table of an illustrious personage. The royal host, with much complimentary delicacy, directed the conversation to the profession of his celebrated visitors. Lord Erskine very eloquently took the lead. He descanted, in terms which few other men could command, on the interesting duties of the bar, and the high honours to which

its success conducted. "No man in the land," said he, "need be ashamed to belong to such a profession: for my part, of a noble family myself, I felt no degradation in practising it; it has added, not only to my wealth, but to my dignity." Curran was silent; which the host observing, called for his opinion. "Lord Erskine," said he, "has so eloquently described all the advantages to be derived from the profession, that I hardly thought my poor opinion was worth adding; but perhaps it was—perhaps I am a better practical instance of its advantages even than his lordship: he was ennobled by birth before he came to it; but it has," said he, making an obeisance to his host—"it has in my person raised the son of a peasant to the table of his prince."

ROBERT EMMETT.

One day, previous to his trial, as the governor was going his rounds, he entered Emmett's room rather abruptly; and, observing a remarkable expression in his countenance, he apologized for the interruption. He had a fork affixed to his little table, and appended to it there was a tress of hair. "You see," said he to the keeper, "how innocently I am occupied. This little tress has long been dear to me, and I am plaiting it to wear in my bosom on the day of my execution!" On the day of that fatal event, there was found sketched by his own hand, with a pen and ink, upon that very table, an admirable likeness of himself, the head severed from the body, which lay near it, surrounded by the scaffold, the axe, and all the frightful paraphernalia of a high-treason execution. What a strange union of tenderness, enthusiasm, and fortitude, do not the above traits of character exhibit! His fortitude, indeed, never for an instant forsook him. On the night previous to his death he slept as soundly as ever; and when the fatal morning dawned he arose, knelt down and prayed, ordered some milk, which he drank, wrote two letters (one to his brother in America, and the other to the secretary of state, inclosing it), and then desired the sheriffs to be informed that he was ready. When they came into his room, he said he had two requests to make: one, that his arms might be left as loose as possible, which was humanely and instantly acceded to. "I make the other," said he, "not under any idea that it can be granted, but that it may be held in remembrance that I have made it—it is, that I may be per-

mitted to die in my uniform." This of course could not be allowed; and the request seemed to have had no other object than to show that he gloried in the cause for which he was to suffer. A remarkable example of his power, both over himself and others, occurred at this melancholy moment. He was passing out, attended by the sheriffs, and preceded by the executioner,—in one of the passages stood the turnkey who had been personally assigned to him during his imprisonment: this poor fellow loved him in his heart, and the tears were streaming from his eyes in torrents. Emmett paused for a moment; his hands were not at liberty—he kissed his cheek—and the man, who had been for years the inmate of a dungeon, habituated to scenes of horror, and hardened against their operation, fell senseless at his feet. Before his eyes had opened again upon this world, those of the youthful sufferer had closed on it for ever.

HIS APPLICATION.

An attention to the pleasures, to the exclusion of the labours, of life, has been made a constant article of accusation against him, certainly not without some foundation, but one to which he always gave a most indignant denial. However, his notions of industry were very ludicrous. An hour to him was a day to another man; and in his natural capabilities his idleness found a powerful auxiliary. A single glance made him master of the subject; and, though imagination could not supply him facts, still it very often became a successful substitute for authorities. He told me once, in serious refutation of what he called the professional calumnies on this subject, that he was quite as laborious as it was necessary for any Nisi-Prius advocate to be: "For," said he, with the utmost simplicity, "I always perused my briefs carefully when I was concerned for the plaintiff, and it was not necessary to do it for the defendant, because you know I could pick up the facts from the opposite counsel's statement." This was what Curran considered being laborious; and to say the truth, it was at best but an industrious idleness. However, his natural genius never deserted him—the want of legal learning was compensated by eloquence, ingenuity, and wit; and, if it must be conceded that there were many men as lawyers his superiors, it may be maintained, with much more justice,

justice, that there was no one as advocate his equal.

However, it is a great mistake to suppose that Mr. Curran was universally indolent. It is quite impossible that any man, who had not, at some time or other, devoted himself seriously to study, could have attained his acquisitions and his accomplishments. He was a most admirable classical scholar—with the whole range of English literature he was perfectly acquainted—he not only spoke French like a native, but was familiar with every eminent author in that language; and he had acquired a knowledge of music, that entitled him more to the character of a master than a proficient. His execution both on the violin and the violoncello was admirable, and the exquisite euphony of his sentences may perhaps be traced to his indefatigable attention to this study.

MILTON.

There are many who may remember his table dissertations upon Milton; and I choose to call them dissertations, although delivered in conversation, because they were literally committed to memory. It was very easy, in vulgar phrase, to *draw on him* for the criticism; and, to do him justice, he never refused acceptance. That criticism was certainly a finished specimen at once of his want of taste and of his wonderful talents. He hated Milton like one of the inhabitants of his own pandemonium. His choice of a subject, which had so long perplexed the poet, he thought peculiarly injudicious. "If the theme was true," he would say, "it ought not to be the topic of profane poetry; and, if it was not true, it would be very easy to have invented one more interesting." He would then run through the management of the poem, in a strain of alternate ridicule and sublimity that was quite amazing. It was as impossible to hear his disbelief that the Almighty could wage war upon his angels, without an awful admiration; as it was his description of primitive simplicity, without laughter. Adam and Eve he certainly treated with very little filial reverence.

HIS MELANCHOLY.

There were times when he was subject to the most extreme despondency; but the origin of this was visible enough, without having recourse to any mysterious inquiries. It was the case with him as it is with every person whose spirits are apt to be occasionally excited—the depression is at intervals in exact proportion. Like a bow overstrained, the mind relaxes in consequence of the exertion. He

was naturally extremely sensitive—domestic misfortunes rendered his home unhappy—he flew for a kind of refuge into public life; and the political ruin of his country, leaving him without an object of private enjoyment or of patriotic hope, flung him upon his own heart-devouring reflections. He was at those times a striking instance of his own remark upon the disadvantages attendant upon too refined a sensibility. "Depend upon it, my dear friend," said he, "it is a serious misfortune in life to have a mind more sensitive or more cultivated than common—it naturally elevates its possessor into a region which he must be doomed to find *nearly uninhabited!*" It was a deplorable thing to see him in the decline of life, when visited by this constitutional melancholy. I have not unfrequently accompanied him in his walks upon such occasions, almost at the hour of midnight. He had gardens attached to the Priory, of which he was particularly fond: and into these gardens, when so affected, no matter at what hour, he used to ramble. It was then almost impossible to divert his mind from themes of sadness. The gloom of his own thoughts discoloured every thing, and from calamity to calamity he would wander on, seeing in the future nothing for hope, and in the past nothing but disappointment—You could not recognise in him the same creature, who but an hour preceding had "set the table in a roar"—his gibes, his merriment, his flashes of wit, were all extinguished. He had a favourite little daughter, who was a sort of musical prodigy. She had died at the age of twelve, and he had her buried in the midst of a small grove just adjoining this garden. A little rustic memorial was raised over her, and often and often have I seen him, the tears "chasing each other" down his cheeks, point to his daughter's monument, and "wish to be with her and at rest." Such at times was the man, before whose very look not merely gravity but sadness has often vanished—who has given birth to more enjoyment, and uttered more wit, than, perhaps, any of his contemporaries in any country—who had in him materials for social happiness, such as we cannot hope again to see combined in any one; and whose death has cast, I fear, a permanent eclipse upon the festivities of his circle.

Perhaps, after one of those scenes of misery, when he had walked himself tired, and wept himself tearless, he would again return into the house, where the

the picture of some friend, or the contingency of some accident, recalling an early or festive association, would hurry him into the very extreme of cheerfulness! His spirits rose—his wit returned—the jest, and the tale, and the anecdote, pushed each other aside in an almost endless variety, and day dawned upon him, the happiest, the pleasantest, and the most fascinating of companions. The friends whom he admitted to an intimacy may, perhaps, recognise him, even in this hurried sketch, as he has often appeared to them in the hospitalities of the Priory:—but, alas!—the look all-eloquent—the eye of fire—the tongue of harmony—the exquisite address that gave a charm to every thing, and spell-bound those who heard him, are gone for ever!

HIS TALENTS AT THE BAR.

Mr. Curran's place at the Irish Bar has not even been approached since his departure. There is no man, not merely next him, but near him.* I have heard the best efforts of the ablest amongst them; and, though they were brilliant in their way, it was as the brilliancy of the morning star before the sunbeam. One, perhaps, is witty, sarcastic, argumentative—another, fluent, polished, plausible—a third, blunt, vehement, and energetic—but, there is not one like him, at once strong, persuasive, witty, eloquent, acute, and argumentative, giving to every argument the charm of his imagery, and to every image the magnificent simplicity of his manner—not one, who, when he had touched all the chords of pity, could so wrinkle up the cheek with laughter, that the yet undried tear was impeded in its progress—not one, who, when he had swept away the heart of his hearer, left at the same time such an impression upon his memory, that the judgment on reflection rather applauded the tribute which, at the moment of delivery, had been extorted from the feelings! Who, at any bar, was ever like him at cross-examination? This was considered the peculiar forte of one of the present Barons of the English Exchequer; but that natural shrewdness did not in him, as it did in Curran, act merely as a *pioneer* for the brilliant and overpowering force that was to follow. "The most intricate web," says the learned editor of his Speeches, "that

fraud, malice, or corruption ever wove against the life, character, or fortune, of an individual, he could unravel. Let truth and falsehood be ever so ingeniously dovetailed into each other, he separated them with facility. He surveyed his ground like a skilful general, marked every avenue of approach, knew when to yield or attack, instantly seized the first inconsistency, and pursued his advantage till he completely involved perjury in the confusion of its contradictions." His effect at times was electric and universal. The judge and the mob, the jury and the bar, were equally excited and Lord Clonmell himself, his bitter enemy, rising on the judgment-seat to restrain the popular enthusiasm, confessed himself overcome by the eloquence that had produced it.

To his fellow-labourers at the bar he was all amenity, but most particularly to the young and inexperienced. There was no young man of his time, of any promise, to whom he did not hold out the hand, not only of encouragement, but of hospitality; and, so far was he from indulging an ungenerous sally at their expense, that it would have been a dangerous experiment in another to have attempted it in his presence. No person, who has not been educated to a profession, can estimate the value, or the almost peculiarity, of this trait of character. But his was a mind originally too grand to found its distinction on the depreciation of his inferiors; and, were it even necessary, his spirit was too lofty to stoop to the expedient. He affected no importance from the miserable accident of seniority or station, and laughed to scorn the pretensionless stupidity that sought, like the cynic, an enforced reverence to its rags and its dotage. During the thirty-two years of his professional life, there is not on record of him an unkindness to a junior, an asperity to a senior, an undue submission to overweening power, or a single instance of interested servility. Sincerely were it to be wished that all his contemporaries had acted towards him with the same generosity which he uniformly evinced. But, alas! there were some who hated him for his talents, some who envied him for his fame; and mean malignity too often led them to depreciate the one and undermine the other. The faults and the foibles, to which the very best are subject, were in him observed with an eagle's eye, and held with the tenacity of an eagle's grasp. He was docile even to a fault, often relinquishing his own fine intellect

* Another writer would have excepted Mr. Curran's biographer, who, notwithstanding his exuberancy, is unquestionless the most eloquent man of his time.

intellect to very inferior guidance. Did a casual indiscretion arise from such docility, it was carefully noted down, recalled periodically, and then religiously returned to the malignant register, to be again declaimed upon, when any future exhibition of his genius provoked afresh the hostility of his enemies.

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[This is a most delightful volume: the author is a man of taste,—and, what is better, he is a man of principle and feeling. We should have thought that every topic to be discussed in a journey through France and Italy had been exhausted;—but we have perused Mr. Sass's agreeable book with as much satisfaction as we did Keate's Account of Pelew, or Hall's Account of Loo-Choo. His well-stored mind and powers of painting give an air of novelty and interest to every subject he touches. The facts he relates of the affection held over the continent for the person and government of Napoleon must make Englishmen blush at the wicked impositions of which they have been the dupes, and at the disgraceful tragedy which even at this hour is acting in their abused name at St. Helena.—An apology for the length of our extracts from so small a volume will be afforded by the intrinsic merit of every passage.]

ITALY AND FRANCE.

ITALY and France still resemble each other in some particulars, which may have arisen from their long intercourse, and having been under the same government; but in most things, at the present moment, they are widely different. The French are proverbially honest, the Italians directly the reverse. There is a neatness and cleanliness in the French; and, although they cannot be compared to the English in these particulars, they are greatly superior to the Italians, who are in general very filthy. The country of France is richly cultivated, whilst a great part of Italy is a desert. Where it is to be got, the dressing of the food is

very similar; but, in travelling through some parts of Italy, the visitor must not be very fastidious, but content himself with sour bread, bad cheese, and indifferent wine. The French are lively and industrious: the Italians add cunning to their liveliness, and are extremely indolent. If extreme poverty is seen in France, the most abject misery and wretchedness are met with continually in the other country. The system of police is so good in France, that you travel in perfect safety in every part; whilst, in Italy, your property is in continual jeopardy, nor is your life ever secure. In fact, to compare the government of Italy with that of France, we may almost give the latter the appellation of paternal. In the conveniences of travelling also, in these two countries, there is a great difference. A person may be conveyed in safety and comfort, by the diligences, to all parts of France; or, if he has a carriage, can travel equally so by post. In Italy, there being no regular conveyances from one part to another, the difficulty of getting to any particular place is great, unless you have a carriage of your own; and you are then subject to every species of villainy and extortion, without the possibility of getting any redress; besides the continual hazard of being attacked by the distressed and infuriated rabble, who infest every part of Italy. Indeed, without an escort of cavalry, travelling is avowedly dangerous; and, on the other side of the Apennines, a guard of that kind is absolutely necessary. By the intelligence lately received from Italy it appears, that the audacity of the bands of robbers has arrived to such a pitch, that they not merely rob and murder travellers, plunder the villas in the vicinity, and brave the gates of Rome, carrying off prisoners and then demanding their ransom, but even enter that city in large bodies, and threaten its inhabitants. Turkey, a government we despise for its imbecility, is not so bad as this. From good authority, I know that we can travel there in comparative safety. However, such are the results in Italy, from the return of what are termed the legitimate governments.

TRAVELLING.

Since the late intercourse with France, when such crowds of our countrymen have landed on her shores, their impatience of delay has induced the proprietors of the coaches to make arrangements in the Imperial to carry six persons, which in fine weather is far from being unpleasant. Novelty first induced us to select, and

and necessity afterwards obliged us to continue in this place. Our progress was slow, but agreeably enlivened by a Frenchman, who warbled some favourite airs with much taste and feeling. The lower classes in France are greatly superior to those in England, while the higher are much inferior. The slavish attendance exacted from them by an arbitrary, superstitious, and bigotted Court, by damping the energies of the mind, produces perhaps this inferiority. This despotism extends, and is felt, universally. Such is the influence of the crown, and patronage of the ministry, that to get the lowest situation in a common coach-office, it is first necessary to be a courtier, and have what is termed the influence of government, which, of course, is obtained by fawning.

GERARD'S AUSTERLITZ.

The best picture that has appeared in the modern French school, is the battle of Austerlitz, by Gerard. To be sure, in the hero of that event was a subject to inspire any one. It was finely composed, and had a proper attention to character and detail; but its greatest fault was a want of the breadth of nature, which distinguishes the productions of the English school. This picture, that semi-barbarian, Blucher, wished to destroy. It is, however, no longer seen, having been removed from the place which it occupied, in the room adjoining the chapel in the Thuilleries.

Charges at a respectable Hotel at Paris.

	f.	s.
Breakfast, consisting of coffee, bread, butter, and eggs	1	10
Dinner at the table d'hôte, fish, flesh, and fowl, wine, dessert, &c.	3	0
A cup of coffee	0	8
Bed	2	0
	6	18

PARIS.

There is no modern city that can boast of such a succession of magnificent places as Paris. Beginning with the Palais Royale, you cross the Rue St. Honoré to the Palais des Arts et des Sciences; whence, you pass through the Place de Carousel, to the Triumphal Arch of Bonaparte, on which were placed the bronze horses now at Venice. Going through the centre of the Thuilleries, you enter upon the gardens, adorned with statues, fountains, walks, &c. On the right of the gardens is the Place Vendôme, with the Column Napoleon; on the left the Seine, whose stream flows slowly on, lingering as if it regretted

leaving so delightful a place. Still advancing, you arrive at the Place de la Concorde; a magnificent range of buildings is seen on the right; the Champs Elysées in front, and on the left the fine Pont de la Concorde. Crossing the bridge, you find yourself opposite the beautiful palace of the Corps Legislatif, behind which is l'Hopital des Invalids, and near it l'Ecole Militaire. The next grand object which presents itself is the Champ de Mars, at the further end of which is the classical Pont de Jona. On the opposite side was to have been the palace of the King of Rome, for which an immense space had been cleared; nothing, however, except the foundation, is visible. All these places form an unbroken scene of magnificence and grandeur. Distributed about the Fauxbourgs St. Germain and St. Marceau, are other objects equally interesting. Such are the Musée des Petits Augustins, Luxembourg Palace and gardens, St. Sulpice, the noble and elegant pile of the Pantheon, the Catacombs, the Observatory, the Gobelin tapestry, and the Jardin des Plantes. Crossing the iron bridge of Austerlitz, you arrive at the foundations of the Hall of Abundance, begun by the order of Napoleon, but now left to decay, like many other fine works which were in progress when the Bourbons returned. Proceeding by the fosse of the Bastille to the fountain of the Elephant, likewise unfinished, you arrive at the beautiful fountain of the Lions, and the best part of the Boulevards.

Such a succession of pleasing objects, united to the civility with which you are received, the prevailing urbanity and politeness of the inhabitants, the music and singing which charm your ear, the drollery of the *grimaciers* and mountebanks, which irresistibly excite you to laughter, the bustle, the activity, and the vivacity seen around, all conspire to create that feeling of delight and ecstasy which is seldom felt in our own country. The comforts which attend the walks of the sensualist are great. If he be warm, he can retire to a delightful shade; and command ices, lemonade, and punch of the most delicious kinds. If he be hungry, the most luxuriously cooked meats await his order; amusements of all kinds surround him; and almost every wish his heart can form, is within his reach. Such is Paris for the common visitor.

LEGITIMACY.

I quote the following authentic paper, being a licence granted to Poulthier d'Elmotu by the Sieur le Noir, intendant of

of the police of the press, under the old Bourbon government. I permit you to write against *the Deity*, but not against Monsieur de Maurepas; against *religion*, but not against government; against *the apostles*, but not against ministers; against *the saints*, but not against the ladies of the court; against *morals*, but not against the police."

THE INTERIOR.

The country on the other side of Paris is much superior to that between the coast and the capital, and to the traveller much more interesting. There are more visible signs of population; chateaux and cottages are continually seen, although it cannot boast of that succession of *villas* which we see in England. The land appears every where richly cultivated; the roads are broad and good, and for the most part paved in the centre. The forest of Fontainebleau is beautiful, extensive, and grand.

NAPOLÉON LE GRAND.

In going from Paris to Lyons by this route, we travel, for many miles, on the banks of the Loire, and pass in sight of the place where the army retired on the abdication of Bonaparte. As an impartial relater, I cannot help here noticing the enthusiasm that seemed every where to prevail in favour of Napoleon: with whomsoever we conversed, he appeared to be idolized. In the diligence there were two ladies and three gentlemen, all French. As we were on the same road by which he made his triumphal entry into France, on his return from Elba, the conversation naturally turned on the emperor: when expressing my sentiments of him, happening to say something in his favour, the animation which sparkled in every eye; the exclamations, accompanied by that liveliness of gesticulation peculiar to the French; the fervour with which they grasped my hand spoke volumes. Indeed, it was every where the same; on passing by one of the buildings in Paris, where workmen were employed to erase the effigies of Napoleon, a man exclaimed, "*Ah! they may blot out his emblems, but they cannot erase him from our hearts.*" Again, when I inquired why the Halle d'Abondance, which Napoleon began, was left unfinished, it was emphatically observed, that every thing was at a stand since the Bourbons had returned.

A young woman was introduced to us at one of the inns, who, when Bonaparte

passed that way from Elba, and wanted a postilion, offered her services, and guided him safe to the next post. He afterwards allowed her a pension. Whether they thought to tease us, as the English are supposed to have an inveterate hatred of Bonaparte, I know not; but they appeared to delight in calling our attention to any thing that related to him, and seemed never weary of eulogizing him.

LYONS.

Lyons is most beautifully picturesque: seated between the Rhone and the Saone, whose streams unite about half a mile below the town, in the 45th degree of latitude; and, defended by the hills on the north, it experiences neither the excessive cold nor heat of other places. Hills spring from the other side of the Saone, on which houses and chateaux are built, ornamenting their sides to the top, and giving richness and magnificence to the scene.

Some fine bridges have been built by order of Napoleon, displaying much simplicity and elegance of structure. The city is commanded by two mountains, that of Fourvières, on which, when first founded, it was built; and that of St. Sebastian, which rises like an amphitheatre between the Saone and the Rhone. The women are in general well-looking, but many of them have large throats. This peculiarity, as we approach the Alps, becomes a dreadful disease. The beer of Lyons is very celebrated; but, although the best we had tasted in France, we found it much inferior to what we have in England. French beer has, invariably, a smoky taste. The manufactures of Lyons consist chiefly of cloths of gold, silver, and silk, which are brought to such perfection, as to excite the admiration of strangers. These form the first class. Galloons, ribbons, and lace, take the second; and the hosiers, hatters, and booksellers, are reckoned in the third. To these are added the workers of gold thread, silk-weavers, dyers, &c. occupying altogether about 20,000 persons. The whole population is reckoned at 150,000.

The charms which Nature has spread with profusion over the territory of Lyons, united to the engaging manners of its inhabitants, render it doubly attractive. Fully justified was the enthusiasm of a distinguished poet, who still admired it on his return from Italy. After having seen the alluring delights of

the Tiber, and the majestic beauties of Rome, he exclaimed:

"En fin, je vous revois, ô ma chère patrie,
Lyon, temple sacré des arts, de l'industrie:
Que mon ame est émue en parcourant des
yeux

Ces plaines, ces coteaux heureux,

Ces remparts, ce vaste rivage,

Ces fleuves amans de ces bords:

Qui de les embellir disputant l'avantage,
Confondent à l'envi leurs flots et leurs trans-
ports."

SAVOY.

Leaving this place, the mountains of Savoy broke upon our view, interspersed with clouds. We soon after arrived at Pont Beauvoisin, where we were detained a long time by the Douanieres, this being the entrance to the Sardinian dominions. An obvious change in the character of the people may here be observed. From Pont Beauvoisin we began to ascend the mountains, surrounded by every beauty of vegetation. The vineyards were luxuriant; and we refreshed ourselves, in passing, with the fruit which offered, such as walnuts, apples, pears, and plums. Those who are fond of the terrific beauties of nature may here enjoy themselves; and, to the stranger, who has never before approached the Alps, the lofty ridges of Savoy present a grand and novel sight. On entering the first defile, the rocks above, the precipices below, the woods, the cascades, and the torrents, form a *coup d'œil* gratifying in the extreme. The broken cliffs appear as if rent asunder by some mighty convulsion of nature. Passing onwards, we entered the delightful valley of Echelles, in the midst of which rises the pretty village of that name; the beauty of the scene it is impossible to describe. We now approached a prodigious work, said to have been begun by Cæsar, but executed principally by the order of Charles II. Duke of Savoy, in 1760. It is called the Grotto, and is a passage cut through the mountain to the length of five thousand yards, and, in perpendicular height, above one hundred feet. It is sufficiently wide for two carriages to pass, and of gradual ascent. We viewed, with astonishment, the masses of rock which had been cut through. About half way, there is a fine work of modern times. It is a complete tunnel, running in another direction, one thousand feet long and thirty-six feet high, cut by the order of Bonaparte for the convenient conveyance of cattle. Workmen were em-

ployed night and day, for six years, in completing it. These rocks spoke praises of Napoleon; and indeed I may here observe, that, in the course of our journey, whatever we met with which was admirable, well contrived, or well regulated, it was Bonaparte's, and the emperor was continually mentioned by the inhabitants.

MOUNT CENIS.

After passing Lanslebourg, we began to ascend Mount Cenis, and entered upon the road formed by the late emperor. The genius of Napoleon seems to have inspired and produced super-human efforts. Wherever his hand is seen, or his mind is concerned, we are astonished at the grandeur and prodigious magnitude of his ideas. The Alps, whose terrific images has for ages excited the dread of man, have fallen before his power: no longer dressed in their former character, but covered with vegetation, they excite nothing but the most agreeable sensations. He has cut through some mountains, overturned others, filled up precipices, turned the course of torrents, formed bridges, and made roads of the most gentle ascent, which avoid all former dangers and inconveniences. On them the traveller moves with ease and delight, and hospitality every where prevails. Although he has been our enemy, every one in passing the Alps must think as I do, and will almost have a feeling of gratitude towards him, if they would honestly express it; for, in these wonderful works, as in many others, he has been a benefit to the human race.

In our approach to Mount Cenis, we sometimes ascended very high, while the mountains appeared still higher, and the torrent seemed lost in abysses below; however, we gradually attained the top. There had been a heavy storm the preceding night, (August 6th,) and a great fall of snow, which covered the surrounding summits. Every one will be lost in admiration on seeing this grand road, winding up the side of the mountain in a serpentine line of a most easy ascent, flanked with stone, and defended by posts and parapets. Twenty-eight houses are placed at certain distances by order of Bonaparte, to succour the distressed in case of need. Fires, beds, &c. are provided, together with every necessary. The old route is still seen, and miserable it must have been to those who were obliged to pass by it. On the top of Mount Cenis is a plain six miles long,
covered

covered with verdure; and affording pasturage to cows, goats, and sheep. In the centre is a lake, two miles in diameter, which produces excellent trout. The post-house and an auberge are situated about the centre, as likewise a barrack; and a little higher is an hospice, built by order of the late emperor of the French, similar to that of Great St. Bernard. We suffered much pain in our extremities from the cold. From the highest of these mountains the plains of Piedmont are seen; and from this spot, it is said, Hannibal shewed his soldiers the fine country they were going to conquer. Mount Cenis, at the post, is 6251 feet above the level of the sea. The highest point is 9261 feet, and at the Grand Cross, on the side of Italy, 6022 feet.

TURIN.

Turin is one of the finest cities in Italy. It is situated almost at the foot of the Alps, in a fine plain watered by the Po, and in the place where that river receives the Dora Ripuaria. It is surrounded by good walls and a deep ditch, and was one of the best fortified places in Europe: the works are now all destroyed. It is celebrated for the many sieges it has sustained, and for its territory being the theatre of so many battles. The houses are grand, and built with great regularity, the streets being all at right angles with each other. Although, from that circumstance, it may, after a time, appear somewhat monotonous, yet it has an air of magnificence, and was certainly the handsomest city we had seen. The castle is a noble pile, and stands in the centre of a large square, called Piazza Castella. All the buildings have a clean appearance; and, although the architecture cannot boast of much taste, either in its formation, or in the distribution of its ornaments, yet, altogether, the city has a fine effect. Many of the houses are profusely ornamented, and almost all are adorned with Fresco painting, some scriptural, some heathen subjects, and numbers representing balconies, terraces, &c. well executed. The churches also have much ornament. They use the marble of Suza, which resembles the *verde antique*, the blue marble of Piedmont, and others of different colours, from the quarries of Geneva and Dauphiny. Nature has been lavish to this country in the finest marbles; but she has not bestowed upon it a Bramante, a Buonorotti, a Vasari, or a Palladio. The bread here is of a much better quality than in France. Ice is served at table, brought from the

neighbouring Alps, and of so pure a quality, that it is common to put it into the wine to cool it before drinking, and, by dissolving there, it consequently becomes a part of the beverage. The manufactory for silk is in full vigour at Turin. The silk stockings are highly prized. The citadel is now ornamented with rows of trees, which form a promenade for the inhabitants. The king of Sardinia, who resides here, is not much respected by the people, who take every opportunity of ridiculing him.

GENOA.

We entered Genoa, called, by distinction, *la superba*. The Genoese appear a noble and independent race. They have more the appearance of gentlemen (and by that I mean Englishmen) than any we had yet met with on the Continent. The women also reminded us of those of our own country, and still more so from their dress being in general white. They are finely formed, noble in carriage, a full size, have good features, and sparkling eyes; but they want that mark of health, the carnation bloom, which distinguishes the British fair. The streets were so crowded with them on our entry, that we might have supposed the population to be entirely of women. They were proceeding to the promenade. The Genoese appear to retain all their ancient spirit, and nothing seems to gail them so much as being under the Sardinian government, which they detest. The Piedmontese and Genoese have always been at enmity with each other; and, being now placed under the same king, the whole of the odium falls on his Sardinian Majesty. The Genoese say they should glory in being under the British government; but, tied down under those who know not how to appreciate them, they suffer the most odious impositions and exactions. The city is filled with troops, as if it were a besieged town; and the rattling of drums is heard from morning till night. They say that there are more troops than can be paid; and, if it were not from the fear of an English fleet, they would expel the whole of them in twenty-four hours. The soldiers are openly insulted, the government is execrated, and so little respect have they for the king, that a man, carrying his bust along the street, was offered, by three different persons, fifty and a hundred livres each, to let them throw a stone at it. Such is the present state of Genoa, worthy of being a colony and an ally of England.

All that we saw reminded us of the former power of Genoa; but the Genoese citizens, with whom we conversed, although evincing in themselves an independence of spirit, such as we do not often meet with on the Continent, told us that Genoa was now but a shadow of its former self: they lamented they were betrayed by those for whom they had the greatest respect, and assured us it was only under a solemn promise their independence should be recognised, that they admitted the English troops. In spite, however, of this, they were delivered into the power of a narrow-minded tyranny. It is painful to hear our country, whose character has stood so high, thus charged with a breach of faith. However, there is some satisfaction that they seem to know from whence it springs, and make a distinction between the ministers of our great empire and its people.

VOYAGE TO LEGHORN.

Although our voyage was tedious, we were enlivened at times by the singing of the padrone, who had great power of execution. In the course of conversation with the passengers, we were told that we should find the Italians universally in favour of Napoleon, and they certainly expressed their sentiments much more openly than in France. It was astonishing to us, as Englishmen, to find how little information the people of Italy or France had of what was transacting in other parts of the globe. They inquired when Bonaparte died; and, when we informed them that he was still alive at St. Helena, they repeated the information among themselves, then shook their heads, and assured us that we were deceived by our ministers, for that he died in England. It was delightful to hear this distinction always preserved between the ministers and the people.

LEGHORN.

Leghorn is a free port, and displays all the consequent bustle and activity. We felt much gratified in our reception. The moment we were known to be English, the examination of our passports was dispensed with; at the same time, it was politely signified that we might go where we pleased.

The whole of the pavement of Leghorn being of flat stones, it was a luxury to walk on them; and the coaches, which are very light, and drawn only by one horse, glide along the streets with ease and celerity.

The women, in general, wear large flat

bonnets, adorned with plumes of feathers, placed on one side of the head, or negligently thrown on their backs. It gives them a style that is very pleasing. Having entered now into the heart of Italy, the appellation of *Signor* is much more general. "*Si, Signor*" is the affirmative to every question asked, and, whether from its novelty or its harmony, the sound was very agreeable to our ears. It has certainly not the abruptness of "*Yes, sir,*" nor the hardness of sound in "*Oui, Monsieur.*" This was the only place, during our journey, where we enjoyed the luxury of knives that would cut, and they were of English manufacture.

LEANING TOWER OF PISA.

It is a round tower of eight stories of pillars, 180 feet high, inclining so much out of the perpendicular, that the top projects fifteen feet over the base. The way up to the top is by a circular flight of steps within, of so gentle an ascent, that it is said a horse could mount with ease. In going up, the inclination of the tower is found to be considerable, but, in coming down, still more so. It appears, on the upper side, as if you were ascending, and on the lower side, you feel as if you would fall headlong. On the top it has a fearful slant; and, but for the iron railing which surrounds it, few would venture to trust themselves there. The base on the lower side appears sunk in the ground above six feet. It is built of marble, and has stood more than six hundred years without fissure or decay, having been raised in 1174. It is supposed to have sunk when built as high as the fifth story, and the architect had the boldness and the skill to complete it in the direction it had taken.

ROME.

The principal objects of attraction are the Coliseum, the Capitol, the Pantheon, the Vatican, the Farnese palace, and the villa Farnesiana; the first as being the ruins of one of the grandest edifices of the Romans; the second having been the former seat of empire; the third as the best preserved and most beautiful of their temples; the fourth containing the finest examples of modern painting, and an assemblage of the most beautiful specimens of antique sculpture; and the last two from being adorned by the works of Raffaele and Annibal Carrachi. To the Capitol we immediately hastened.

The Capitol is situated between modern Rome and the ancient ruins, forming the boundary of the one and the commencement

commencement of the other. Seated on the summit of the tower, rising from the senatorial palace, which is built on the top of the Capitoline hill, the highest point of the city; clasping the figure of Minerva, by which it is crowned, we enjoy the sight of both. When from this eminence we view the scene by which we are surrounded, and contemplate the past, what melancholy emotions are inspired! Within that range what scenes had passed, what actions had been performed, what glories seen, what cruelties executed! There had been practised every virtue which can adorn humanity, and every vice which can degrade it. The noblest and the vilest actions: the most glorious liberty had dignified that spot; the most detestable despotism had disgraced it.

Surrounding the Forum, and within the compass of one's eye, is an assemblage of objects grand, beautiful, and interesting: triumphal arches; columns of fine proportions, the only remains of edifices once so celebrated; temples in ruins; and, at the end, the prodigious form of the amphitheatre of Vespasian. On the right it is bounded by the Palatine hill, the seat of infant Rome, but now a shapeless mass of rubbish. The Tarpeian rock, which lay between the Capitol and the Tiber, rendered so famous by the number of victims hurled from its top, is no longer an object of terror, and indeed can hardly be pointed out, as ruins have not only filled up the gap, but raised the banks and narrowed the course of the river.

Descending from the Capitol, we approached the arch of Septimus Severus, which, with three columns of the temple, erected by Augustus to Jupiter Tonans, is situated at the foot of the mount. These, with eight pillars of the Temple of Concord, the arch of Constantine, and many others, have been cleared by the French of the rubbish in which they were buried; and their bases now appear considerably below the present elevation of the ground. An insulated column of the Corinthian order, called the Pillar of Phocias, the half only of which had heretofore been seen above ground, was clearing, and was nearly completed when we left Rome, by the order, at the expense, and much to the honour, of the Duchess of Devonshire. These are acts which show true nobility. Below its base are seen several steps, by which it was approached; and at the foot of these is the original pavement of the Forum. Here we descended and en-

joyed the idea that we were standing on the same ground, nay, resting perhaps on the same stone, which Cæsar, Cicero, or Virgil, had trod before us. The pavement of the Forum is above thirty feet below the present causeway; and, from this account, the reader will have some idea of the quantity of ruins which could fill up a space so large as the Forum, to such a height above its original level, and likewise of what treasures might be found if the whole were excavated and cleared. Rome, in the hands of the French or English, might be partly resuscitated; but, much as it was improved under the government of the former, its course has been retrograde since they left Italy.

In whatever way we consider the amphitheatre of Vespasian, whether as to its colossal size, the solidity of its structure, its architectural taste and proportion, or its convenience, it equally strikes us with wonder and admiration. With what delight did we wander among its ruins, climb its seats, parade its galleries and arcades, and pass through its vomitories. Days might be spent in exploring and examining its subterraneous passages.

In addition to those I have mentioned are the ruins of the temples of Antoninus and Faustina, of Peace, of the Sun and Moon, of Remus, and three Corinthian columns of Jupiter Stator. All these lie within a circle, surrounding the Forum, and excite a vast idea of its original magnificence.

We visited the baths of Caracalla early one morning; little remains but the wall, which, with the ground, are covered with weeds. It is said to be buried so deep in its ruins, that we tread on the roof of the lower chambers. A large walnut-tree has grown in the middle of what appears to have been the principal saloon; on the fruit of which, and some blackberries, we made our breakfast. The Hercules of Glycon, and Farnesian bull, both now at Naples, were found in these ruins. The baths of Titus are in better preservation; many of the chambers, though now subterranean, being still adorned by painting, the colours appearing in almost their primitive beauty. The triumph of Grecian sculpture, the Laocoon, was dug from these baths.

We extended our walk to the walls, which, in many parts, are in excellent preservation. Many aqueducts, which supply the city, are seen; and, on examining the parts that are broken, we discovered

discovered that the water of some of them was conveyed through metal pipes. We went out by the gate of St. Sebastian, and, passing on the outside of the walls, again entered through that of St. Paul; on the side of which is the pyramidal mausoleum of Caius Cestius. Returning by the Aventine hill we came upon the Circus Maximus, where the rape of the Sabines took place. Mount Palatine, where Romulus and Remus were found, was before us. On it are the ruins of a modern villa; besides immense arches and excavations one within another, which we entered until we were lost in darkness. These are the ruins of the palaces of the emperors. The greatest part of the hill is covered with vines, and the residence of the Cæsars is now a rope-walk.

The Pantheon! It is impossible to describe one's feelings on entering this edifice. It must have the same effect upon every one; and none can be wearied in the contemplation of it. Its beautiful proportions, its columns of a single shaft of yellow antique, fluted, of the Corinthian order, its immense dome, the light entering from a single aperture in the centre, shedding around its radiance undistracted, and throwing every object into fine masses of light and shadow—absorbed our powers—we were lost in rapture. For my own part, it was my constant resort daily during my stay in Rome, and sometimes twice and thrice; yet I was never satisfied, but always longed to return.

ST. PETER'S.

St. Peter's is situated on the Vatican Mount, the other side of the Tiber. The approach to it is over the bridge of St. Angelo and through some dirty streets. Whether from its being unconnected with other buildings, and seen alone in the vast surrounding space, or from the number of small parts of which it is composed, although actually larger than St. Paul's, it appeared diminutive. When we had entered the nave, however, we became sensible of its magnitude, and were delighted with its decorations. There appeared, indeed, no end to its beauties. Still there was a something wanting. Our bosoms did not swell, nor were our minds filled with that overpowering sensation which the sight of ancient grandeur had produced, to almost the extinction of thought.

They who wish to enjoy St. Peter's must visit it on their first entry into Rome. They will then be delighted with its magnificence. Its proportions, its mosaics, its sculpture, and its mar-

bles, will *then* have their full effect upon the mind. But, should they, unfortunately for St. Peter's, visit first the remains of ancient Roman grandeur, it will sink in the comparison. Its style will appear little, its ornaments profuse, its decorations paltry and gaudy, and it will have an air of unwarranted pretension; as if the gaiety of its materials would compensate for its want of simplicity. From its embellishment, it seems well calculated to strike the sight of the vulgar, and answer the purposes of the Romish religion. Such, at least, was the effect upon our minds, after having wandered in the ruins of the Forum, contemplated the amphitheatre of Vespasian, and viewed the exquisite beauty, elegance, and simplicity, of the Pantheon!

Adjoining to St. Peter's is the Vatican. In the exterior of this building there is nothing remarkable; but who can describe the wonders it contains? The Sistine chapel, adorned by the Sibyls, the Prophets, and the Last Judgment, of Michael Angelo, I entered for the first time early one morning, and night surprised me before I had half examined its treasures. The chambers of Raffaele next occupied my attention; and days, weeks, and years, might be advantageously employed in their contemplation and study. But what a lamentable account am I to give of their present state! The most culpable negligence, the blindest indifference, seem to pervade the Papal government. While an outcry has been raised at the statues being removed to France, where they were better seen, and while, with much affected feeling, they have been calling for their restitution, they are permitting such injuries to those fine works, which could not be removed, as nothing will repair. The paintings of Raffaele from the Bible in the corridore are almost destroyed by the damp; those in the chambers, from the same cause, are bulged, and project from the walls, (they who know what fresco-painting is will tremble at this relation;) and a machine of wood to exhibit some mummery has been raised and fixed to the wall in the Sistine chapel, hiding a portion of the Last Judgment, which contains one of the finest groupes in existence.

The gallery of sculpture is a continued scene of elegance and beauty. The Vatican can again boast of possessing the Apollo, the Laocoon, the Antinous, and all those fine examples of the exquisite taste, nicety of feeling, and delicate sentiment, of that refined people—the Greeks. The above statues are seen in their

their little chambers; and it may also be said, that their radiance, indignant at being confined to so small a space, seems desirous of bursting its narrow limits. To view them in their present situation properly is impossible, unless we could press our backs into the stone wall, so as to enable us to recede to a sufficient distance, that the whole figure may be embraced within the compass of the eye. At Paris they had places worthy of them; every thing that could display them to advantage was done, and they received the adoration of thousands. At Rome, such is the state of feeling, that they only appear to be valued as objects for the attraction of visitors, who come from all quarters of the globe, and the city being principally supported by them. Instead of, as in Paris, where we saw the Louvre crowded with its inhabitants, the Vatican presents on public days about twenty or thirty individuals scattered about its rooms.

The Transfiguration of Raffaele, the St. Jerome of Domenichino, and the St. Petronilla, by Guercino, since their return from Paris, have been placed in a room by themselves; but it is too dark to see them as they ought to be viewed.

THE POPE.

The pope's summer residence on the Quirinal hill is extensive; from its gardens there is a good view of Rome. Here the pope's guards are seen in a most ludicrous costume. While we were enjoying their comic appearance, the pope arrived from his evening ride. He is a venerable old man, borne down by sickness and the infirmities of age, and described to be a most exemplary character. The custom of salutation was new to us. As the carriage passed, the people knelt down upon one knee, their hats off, their bodies bent forward, and their heads inclined towards the ground. He gently bowed his head in passing, giving us a beneficent smile.

PECULIAR HABIT.

Very few persons are seen in the streets between two and four o'clock; the inhabitants then retire to rest, to avoid the heat of the day. It is a common saying in Italy, and I have also understood it to be the same in Greece and the Ionian's islands, that during that period of the day, none but Englishmen and dogs are seen out. It was truly ridiculous to see the disturbance that was created by our sometimes entering the shops to make purchases between those hours.

LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT.

We now entered upon the most dangerous part of the road: the ground between here and Torre del Tre Ponti the brigands seem to have chosen for the scene of their principal exploits. When about half way, we beheld a sight shocking to humanity, and disgraceful to the government in whose territory it occurred. Strewed in our path, and stretched in the arms of death, lay a traveller, the victim of assassination. His horse, likewise, lay dead by his side. So effectually had the villains taken aim, that both appeared to have fallen instantaneously. Systematic in their blood-thirsty designs, a square ravine, or ditch, dug on one side, and at right angles with the road, was so formed, that they could secrete themselves without the chance of being discovered, even on the brightest moonlight night, and from thence take sure aim at their unfortunate victim. If any one is way-laid in such a place as this, it appears almost an impossibility for him to escape; for, if the first shot should miss, another from the next angle is certain of taking effect. It will hardly be believed, that such was the culpable negligence and inattention of the papal government to the safety of the people, that when we repassed, a fortnight afterwards, this ravine, dug by assassins for the express purpose of robbery and murder, had never been filled up, but was left in all its terrors, to be again used for the same fell purpose. Lamentably indeed must the people of Italy feel this change. They say, that when the French possessed the supreme power, assassination was unknown, and robbery was almost exterminated. The townspeople could sleep in their beds in safety; the poor people were not sunk into extreme misery, nor driven to desperation by excessive taxation and the monopolization of the necessities of life. The French exactions were devoted to the improvement of the country, of the state of society, and were amply repaid in the protection given to the people. The present governments plunder the people, without the power of restraining the licentious, and, as it would appear, even without the disposition.

Unfortunately, this was not the only murder of that night. Another person was stopped near the same place and dragged into the marshes; the particulars of which we learned at Torre del Tre Ponti. This man was known to have received a sum of money, but which he had left at home in the care of his

his wife. The brigands, finding he had not the money with him, obliged him to write a letter to his wife, desiring her to give the bearer a specified sum. This was conveyed by one of the gang, while the man remained as a hostage in the hands of the banditti. The wife, eager to save the life of her husband, delivered all as desired, and waited in fearful anxiety his return. The robber, in going back to his companions, was questioned by the guard, seized, searched, and sent to prison. Meantime the brigands, becoming impatient at the prolonged stay of their comrade, and suspecting they were betrayed, in revenge shot the poor man who was left in their power. His body was soon after discovered.

NAPLES.

Those who have witnessed that delectable treat, Bartholomew fair, in all its glory, may have some idea of the streets of Naples from the dawn to sun-set.

Naples is a fine city; but when I see people immersed in so much dirt and filth, and who have, altogether, so wretched an appearance, it is difficult to reconcile it with the splendid palaces around.

The rattling of coaches, the bawling of coachmen, the various cries of the various trades, of basket-makers and knife-grinders, of sellers of lemonade, fruit, brooms, &c. conveyed in the highest key of the voice, assail the traveller from all quarters, and stun his ears. It is all confusion; and there is equal danger of being run over, jostled in a crowd, or tumbled into a stall of fruit, fish, or vegetables; driven first on one side of the way, then on the other; steering through crowds of baskets, stalls, &c. of different professions; pestered with importunate beggars, or by the Lazaroni, who continually offer their services. One person insists upon cleaning your shoes; another pulls you by the coat, and, showing some fruit, exclaims, "*Oh, che bella cosa!*" while a third thrusts some article of sale into your hand. The carts being drawn by cattle, we occasionally found a bull's horn under our arms, or thrust into our sides. This is but a slight picture of the streets of Naples; where thousands of persons are pursuing a thousand different objects; where the human voice divine approaches to absolute shrieking; and where the noise and confusion are so great, that we are inclined to say "Chaos is come again." All this, with the good-humour that exists, would incline a spectator to imagine that the utmost happiness and

liberty prevailed. But when we contrast the splendid habiliments of the rich and the wretched nakedness of those who serve them, the magnificent palaces of the court, and the stony bed, covered only by the canopy of heaven, of the poor; and to this add the filth, the nastiness, the vermin, by which every thing and every person almost is covered, —our desire is to fly from such an accumulation of misery and uncleanness, and to bury ourselves in the woods or deserts; for, if this be society, it is the greatest curse.

Innumerable carriages are seen with ladies, officers, and others, in fine attire; whilst the man who drives them has little or no covering, and the boy who mounts behind is absolutely in rags; his motions indicating, pretty clearly, that there are many more animals carried on the voiture than are apparent to the eye. The fruit, though delicious to the sight, we hardly dared to purchase from the filthy appearance of the venders. In fact, from morning till night, in the shops, at the windows, and in the streets, all leisure moments are filled up by the pleasing task of extracting from each other the vermin with which they abound.

Want of cleanliness, and of the frequent use of water, is the general reproach of Italy; but at Naples it seems to have reached its climax. I have before spoken of the Roman flea; but here we have them of all sizes and shapes; Swammerdam, the Dutch entomologist, would have been delighted with such various and inexhaustible stores for his research. The best houses are not free from them. At the Hotel Crocelli, Strada St. Lucia, one of the first, we inhabited apartments sufficiently clean to the eye, but we were obliged to strew our beds with essence of lavender to escape annoyance; and, even with frequent washing, bathing, and changing of linen, could not keep ourselves free from these tormenting vermin. Such is the present state of Naples; glorious in its climate, surrounded by all the luxuries of nature, adorned with some of the finest specimens of art, but with a degraded though lively and good-humoured, population.

However, in observing more closely, there is a source from which these and all other popular evils spring. It is the bad government. The most convincing proof of this is the number of troops in the city. Soldiers stare you in the face at every corner; and, although gifted with almost unlimited power, yet I understand, when

when wanted, they cannot be depended upon. I have seen a soldier draw his sword and strike a man several times, who, by accident in passing, put his hat on one side. I have seen soldiers strike, and repeatedly slap the face of some young men who were passing, for some supposed offence, and without their daring to retaliate. This seems to be allowed, as likewise picking of pockets, which is done with a most barefaced impunity. Indeed, anarchy seems to be the order of the day in the Neapolitan dominions. The want of power in, or the corruption of, the government, will be sufficiently known when I relate two facts; that the revenue of Naples is thirty millions of ducats, and only eighteen millions come into the treasury; and, that the country is thronged with lawless bands, to the chief of one of which the king allows about two hundred pounds a-year to keep the road clear in Calabria. I may add the following extract from the Naples Gazette:—"We are happy to find that the brigand chiefs are coming to the terms of government, and beginning to clear the roads of their companions." Such is the government of Naples; and, indeed, most of those of Italy.

The king appears to be a heavy, slovenly sort of man; and the best thing I observed of him was, that he rode about without fear, or any ridiculous pomp and show. He is often seen in an open calash with only one attendant. In this he has all the appearance of the king of a free nation, who would think it his greatest pride to be ranked as its first citizen. He is said to be very good-natured; and, although he borrows his subjects' money without scruple, and never gives any thing in return but his bill, yet he passes through the streets without annoyance, either by acclamation or censure. His lady has a bad name, as it is said she causes much of the misery by a monopoly of the corn; but these reports of individuals are generally erroneous, the main fault being in the want of an efficient government.

After suffering the various vicissitudes common to all cities of Italy in their intestine broils, Naples became subject to the king of Spain. At last, Napoleon the Great, late emperor of France and king of Italy, conquered the kingdom of Naples, and gave it to his brother Joseph: Joachim Murat, a lover of science and the fine arts, succeeded him. He is described as having governed the people with wisdom, who, in return, loved him

extremely. He was occupied incessantly in rendering his subjects more happy, and he is never spoken of but with regret. Naples is indebted to him for many improvements.

THE BEGGARS.

At the coffee-houses every luxury can be commanded: the ices, which are delicious, are served up in various shapes of fruit, and so firm, that the spoon will hardly make an impression on them. But how is it possible to enjoy these, when the doors are beset with crowds of miserable beings, men, women, and children, whose moans and pitiable plaints ring in our ears. To feed on luxuries when surrounded by misery is impossible. Once we endeavoured to distribute a certain sum among about thirty of these wretched creatures; when they became so clamorous and importunate, many who had already received shifting their places, that it was out of our power to make any distinction. Before we had half done, hundreds came running from the surrounding houses; and, attempting to make our way out by another door, we were again assailed, and were only indebted to our speed in running for our escape.

The men of the lower classes wear neither shoes nor stockings, and some are without shirts; the children have merely a short tunic, but the women are in general more clothed. The latter never think of cutting their hair, which is disgustingly profuse, frizzed out on all sides; and one head will present all the different shades, from the lightest to the darkest brown. The higher classes are very gay in their habiliments; but the Neapolitan women are universally ugly, having somewhat of the Egyptian character, thick lips, heavy eyelids, flat foreheads, and sallow complexions.

THE CRATER OF VESUVIUS.

At the foot of the crater we sat down and refreshed ourselves with fruit and wine, brought by one of the guides. Here was a scene to contemplate. The top of the mountain was divided into two points, distinguished as the old crater and the new; the one belching forth volumes of black smoke and clouds of dust, intermixed with flames; the other presenting a constant fiery mouth, burning with the fierceness and intensity of a prodigious furnace, and from which flames incessantly issued. Its eruptions succeeded each other with only the interval of a few moments, sending up into the air quantities of burning particles, cracking and dividing, forming a most

extraordinary sight, and then descending, with a terrific noise, again into the crater, or rolling down the cone of cinders already formed. Enormous red hot masses came down to our feet.

We recommenced our ascent, occasionally covered with showers of cinders, which spread themselves in every direction. Advancing towards the other side of the mountain, there was a sight beyond our expectations, in an immense fiery body, which presented itself to our wondering eyes. We thought we saw it move, yet doubted; but, being convinced, we screamed with delight. To approach it, we clambered over the rugged cliffs of lava, the sulphurous smoke at times enveloping and almost suffocating us; the heat, increasing as we advanced, became excessive; but the sight was grand. Rolling towards us with an undulating motion, one part pressing on the other, came on a vast body of red hot lava, which, dividing itself into two streams, moved down the side of the mountain majestically slow. It is impossible to describe our feelings at the sight of this wonderful phenomenon, so grand and so new. We then stood between it and the mound raised by the eruption, on some of the old lava, under which the current passed, and formed a sort of bridge over it for a few yards. On the one side was the mountain almost continually exploding, throwing high in the air fire and red hot stones, which came down again in a golden shower, the ground at the same time trembling with the convulsion; and, on the other side, a few yards from our feet, issued a mass of liquid fire. The heat becoming intolerable, we were obliged to move; however, we ventured to approach the burning stream, and, with the assistance of a long stick, got some of the liquid fire, with which we incrustated some pieces of silver. Fatigued, we then laid ourselves down at some little distance on the lava of the first eruption, and feasted our eyes.

This eruption was trifling, in comparison with others; nor was there any actual danger in the places where we were, the explosions being in so vertical a direction that a great portion of the particles fell again into the crater; and those which fell on the outside we were aware of before they could reach us; yet there was certainly, as in every thing else, a possibility of danger. But I believe there are few who would not run some risk to enjoy what we saw. I had always thought that the lava issued from

the mouth, the same place as the eruption; but here it came from the foot of the cone of cinders raised by the explosions.

HERCULANEUM.

Herculaneum is now beneath the village of Portici; the descent to it is by a broad stair-case; but there is little to be seen, excepting parts of a theatre. From the fear of endangering the foundation of an ill-formed building, called the palace of Portici, they fill up as fast as they excavate, drawing the treasure forth, and throwing the rubbish into the last from the next excavation. However, there is much to interest; doors are seen lying between the lava, preserving their original shape, but reduced to a cinder. In other parts are columns overturned, which oppose all further progress. The colours on the walls appear in their original lustre, and many inscriptions inform us what has been.

POMPEII.

On our descent from Vesuvius we proceeded to Pompeii. Our horses were miserable; and the dust on the road was so deep, that it was with great difficulty they could draw the carriage along. Pompeii is about eight miles from Portici. In advancing to it, we passed through Torre del Greco, which is partly in ruins from a late eruption.

We alighted, and were at once introduced into what appeared a fairy city, whose inhabitants, by some charm, had disappeared. With breathless impatience and light steps, as if fearful of disturbing the genii of the place, we tripped over the ground, peeping into their chambers, temples, and theatres; at times admiring the beauty of the painting, the symmetry of the statues, the elegance of the architecture, or the convenience of the apartments. We then ran along the streets, glancing at the shops on each side, still with the feeling that we were intruders, and at last gave ourselves up to the enjoyment of the surrounding objects.

The first place we entered was a space adorned with columns, called the barracks. On the walls may be seen writing, &c. We examined, in succession, a small and a large theatre, a temple of Isis, one of Esculapius, a Greek temple, a school, the study of a sculptor, and the walls of the city. We afterwards passed over a large tract of ground covered with vines, under which the greater part of the city still remains buried, to the farther side, where there is a magnificent amphitheatre, not so large as the Coliseum,

Coliseum, but much more perfect. The interior of the arena, the corridors, &c. are embellished with paintings. This was cleared by order of King Joachim, who is as much panegyrised here as Napoleon is elsewhere.

Returning, we entered the Forum. Its beauty, with that of the surrounding buildings, although stripped of their ornaments, delighted us. There is much simplicity and good proportion in the architecture. Its temples are lovely, displaying the Grecian, Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian orders, in their simplest forms. The tribune of the latter order is magnificent. Statues of the consuls, colossal horses, &c. in bronze, once adorned this place.

We next visited the habitation of Salust; and, although we could have wished it to have belonged to a more virtuous character, yet we took great pleasure in examining the apartments. Throughout the house there is an air of luxury; the rooms are elegantly painted, the mosaics and various richly-coloured marbles, which ornament the floors, are arranged with much taste. The bath, in particular, arrested our attention. In different compartments are paintings of Diana and Acteon, Europa and Jove, Mars and Venus, with ornamental figures. The floor of this chamber displayed the richest marbles, disposed in various shapes, of fruit, flowers, and birds. A large family mansion was another object of our curiosity. All its various offices are subterranean. We descended to them, and saw the wine-pitchers ranged in a row, and various utensils.

The streets are narrow; but, as Rousseau observed when he entered London, we likewise here found, "that the common people counted for something," for there are raised paths on each side for foot-passengers. Within the curb-stone is mosaic work; but the carriage-way is paved with large black stones of unequal sizes, fitted to each other. The shops are numerous, many still discovering their former occupations. An apothecary's, a tavern, and one for the sale of liquors of some kind, are the most conspicuous. The counters of these shops are inlaid with coloured marbles; and the cement which joins them is still so strong, as to prevent their being removed without the application of great force. The street on the outside of the gate which faces Herculaneum is adorned with tombs, which appear as if only just erected,—though in a much better taste than those of the present times.

To wander thus in the streets of the ancient Romans; to visit their chambers, their shops, their baths; to examine their furniture, utensils, &c.; to admire their paintings, statues, and the never-to-be sufficiently admired elegance of their temples, would be a delightful daily task for many months. We were enraptured with this seeming effect of enchantment.

TIVOLI.

In taking the circuit of the valley, the scene was ever varied. Indeed, no language can adequately describe the beauties of this delightful retreat. The amenity of the air, the loveliness of the scenery, and the beautiful odour of vegetation, produced a luxurious repose in the mind, a softness of feeling that inclined one to exclaim, "Here will I rest, and forget the world."—Reclining on a grassy bank, the most picturesque and romantic views attracted our sight, whichever way we turned. The villas of Horace, Quintilian, Mæcenas, and Munatius Plancus, were pointed out to us, producing the pleasing associations which those names always inspire: these spots we passed in succession. From the opposite side of the valley there is a fine view of Tivoli, with a waterfall of two descents, the Compagna di Roma, Rome, and the sea bounding the horizon. On our arriving opposite the villa of Mæcenas, five cascades appeared within the compass of the eye, broken in their fall, into three, four, and five descents each. Lucien Bonaparte's situation, who now possesses this villa, is truly enviable. The subterranean saloon under the porticoes and chambers, seen in this villa, is commonly called the Stables of Mæcenas. Others believe it to be a grand reservoir of water. The substructions of the house of Catullus are still seen. Ancient Latium was on this side Tivoli, the country of the Sabines on the other.

Our intention was to have proceeded from hence to Frascati, the ancient Tusculum; but intelligence had just arrived that the brigands had made an attack on the Pope's guards, situated there, and carried seven of them prisoners into the mountains of Albano. The alarm was so great, that we had much difficulty in persuading our coachman to drive us back to Rome, as he was fearful of our path being beset. Indeed, the road is so bad, and the country around such a wilderness, that it seems well calculated for predatory exploits. We returned to Rome with the most lively

lively impressions of the delights of Tivoli.

VENICE.

On our arrival at Fusina, a phenomenon struck our sight in the appearance of a city, with all its domes and spires, rising from the sea. The chief celebrity of this city consists in its situation, which is unique; in its former power and opulence; and in the noble spirit of independence which once animated its people, and from which it derived its origin.

We passed the Lagunes in a gondola, and arrived opposite St. Mark's, where we rested some time, to enjoy the delightful scene by which we were surrounded. Magnificent edifices appeared on all sides emerging from the ocean; St. Mark's in front; the Arsenal and St. Giorgio Maggiore on the right; the Grand Canal, with its superb range of buildings, on the left; and the Custom-house behind.

Boats piled up with delicious fruits, displaying an assemblage of the most lovely colours in all their beautiful varieties; others loaded with vegetables, or with casks filled with fresh water brought from the neighbouring shores, were slowly moving to their several points of debarkation. Innumerable gondolas were passing in every direction, with various degrees of velocity, as business or pleasure might sway their inmates, and steering amid each other with the greatest nicety. The landing-places were as crowded with people as the water was with boats, and all was bustle and activity. We then passed up the grand canal, which winds through the centre of the city, and came in sight of the far-famed but insignificant Rialto. Stretched on the downy pillows of a gondola, enjoying the most luxurious ease, and gliding along the canals which intersect the city in every part, was delightful. The richly-decorated houses and splendid palaces which adorn their sides, presenting themselves in constant succession, and in a capricious and almost endless variety, formed a new and pleasing sight.

The windows of my chamber faced the north; the grand canal ran beneath, on which was a constantly moving scene; the Rialto on the right, and in front at a distance appeared the snow-capt Alps. At night, the deep gloom in which every thing was immersed, was occasionally relieved by the passing, crossing, and intermixture, of the lights from the gondolas, conveying their owners from the public amusements to their homes. The

gondolas, which are black, not being seen, it had the appearance of magic; and it was not difficult to imagine there were airy sprites in the height of revelry, performing their evolutions.

All the buildings of Venice have much decoration, but crowded in too small a space. Palaces are seen enriched with columns of every order, and bedizened with every species of ornaments, often reminding us of a well-decorated twelfth-century cake. Many of the towers and buildings in this city are out of the perpendicular, owing, no doubt, to the sandy soil.

Although it is generally understood that there is no tide in the Mediterranean, yet at Venice there is one which perceptibly falls and rises about two feet.

In Venice, as in other cities which were republics, the inhabitants appear to have an air of independence, and a spirit, which not only remind one of their former high state, but one may fancy that they still enjoy it. However, in traversing their public squares, where cannons are planted and foreign soldiers keep guard, this last illusion is dissipated.

This city is now degraded to a petty province, which formerly was the umpire of states, and commanded empires; degraded, not by its people, but by its nobles, who, although proffered the assistance of the first naval power in the world, and backed by Great Britain, a host in its name, with a dastardly spirit, merely for the sake of their Italian estates, gave up their country to the enemy.

MILAN.

Milan, raised by Dioclesian to be the seat of Roman empire, produced one grand step towards the fall of Rome. What Dioclesian and Maximian began, Constantine completed, by transferring the imperial power to Byzantium.

Under Napoleon, it became the capital of the kingdom of Italy; and the finishing of the cathedral the Milanese exultingly show you as a monument of his taste. This noble pile far exceeds the gaudy tinsel of St. Peter's: it pretends to be nothing more than what it is—a Gothic building; while St. Peter's is a Grecian structure built in a Gothic taste.—It was reserved for the late emperor Napoleon, to rescue from destruction the pride of the Milanese, and give a finish, in a few years, to a building which had been for ages delayed, and which, it is probable, but for him, would never have been completed.

What

What is called the lodge of the emperor, close to the arena of Bonaparte, is a simple and elegant building. The paintings in imitations of basso relievos are admirably well executed. The arena or amphitheatre is of greater extent than the Coliseum; but it has not been completed according to the original design. At the time Napoleon was crowned king of Italy, a naumachia and other diversions were exhibited here, the pleasing recollection of which the Milanese appear to treasure in their memories. Near here commences the grand road to the Simplon. A triumphal arch was erecting in honour of Bonaparte; but which, from the change of affairs, remains unfinished.

Of the pictures in the *Brera*, or Palace of the Fine Arts, little can be said. The Last Supper, by Leonardo da Vinci, in the Dominican convent, is much injured; not, as it has been maliciously said, by the French firing at it, but by the damp and want of care.

At the theatre La Scala we enjoyed a fine treat. The singing was such as might be expected in an Italian theatre, and the ballet was the finest we had seen. The French opera is perhaps altogether as captivating a sight as can be witnessed; but the space on the stage at this theatre so fully allows for the development of scenery, that it imparts perhaps a grander character. The scenes were magnificent; the dancers were excellent; and the most complex, though tasteful, figures, were executed with the most admirable precision.

Near every city in Italy that has been immediately under the dominion of the French, walks and rides, in the most pleasant parts of the environs, have been established.

There was an appearance of civilization, if I may use the term, in Milan, which the more southern cities of Italy cannot aspire to.—Every thing seemed better conducted; and, from what we learned, there was a mildness in the administration of Austria, although the people bitterly complain of the want of trade. From the accounts we had, the difference between the French and the Austrian governments must be severely felt. Every franc raised by the French in the Milanese territory was spent in the state, either in what was more immediately useful, or in its decoration. Now, on the contrary, all the money drawn by the Austrians is laid out in Germany, thus impoverishing the Italian province. The soldiers, also, who used to be clothed with the produce of Italy, are now fur-

nished from Austria, consequently the manufactories of the former country decline: this is but a single instance of the system which, we understood, is at present generally pursued.

In no part of Italy do the people appear to be restricted in their opinions, but express themselves freely of persons; and that abominable name, Bonaparte, is more often repeated than in England, but with very different feelings. The statues and resemblances of himself and family are publicly exhibited; and, what is a much stronger instance of the feeling in his favour is, that the whole of the money coined and issued at the present moment by Austria, still bears his effigy and superscription. His name, therefore, being so intimately connected with all that relates to Italy, will be some apology to the reader (if apology there need) for its being so often repeated in this volume.

THE SIMPLON.

After passing Domo d'Ossola, we entered the defiles.—Here begin the grand works of the Simplon, by a magnificent bridge reaching from one mountain to another. It unites strength and beauty.

It appeared astonishing to find so fine a road in such a region. These mountains are composed of marble, with which the roads are mended. We observed an immense column of a single block, intended for the triumphal arch of Napoleon at Milan. It seems they are fashioned here, and then conveyed to their place of destination. Bonaparte still lives in the recollections of these people. Speak of him,—and they utter exclamations of love and admiration: say that you admire him,—and there is no attention too great for you.—He certainly must have had extraordinary talents to have taken such firm hold on men's minds.

When we considered that the passage had heretofore been made on mules, the excellence of this route continually excited our admiration. As we advanced, objects the most beautiful arrested our sight, ever varied in their character, and producing alternate emotions of delight and awe.

We then began to wind up the mountains, and entering the clouds, soon saw them beneath us, floating in fanciful shapes, and continually varying their forms; some joining into greater masses, others dissolving, vanished into air, "leaving not a rack behind." Lights, which appeared like little stars, were seen here and there, gleaming through the evening's mist from the mountaineers' huts;

huts; and the stars themselves, from the height of our situation, we fancied appeared larger. The moon soon after rose, shedding its silver rays, which were reflected from the mountain's snowy cliffs; and the whole scene was illumined by a thousand sparkling lights. Such was our ascent of the Simplon.

In this desert, so far from the general habitations of men, we had the best supper and the best breakfast that we had enjoyed for some time. The utmost civility and the greatest attention were shewn. German is better understood here than any other language. The women have an air of simplicity, with extreme good nature, which shewed their pretty features to the best advantage.

From the window of my chamber nothing was seen but the whitened-pointed tops of mountains; and, on our departure from the village of the Simplon, we ascended until we reached these snowy regions. Here we clambered up to the glaciers or icy ridges, "those ever during mounds." The cold was piercing. Numbers of crosses are seen where travellers have perished.

We descended from hence by many windings, on a gentle declivity, passing through other galleries into the beautiful valley of the Rhone, and soon after arrived at Brigg. We had now passed this grand monument of human labour. To finish this work with greater rapidity, there was consumed by the mines 175,000 pounds of gunpowder: there were three thousand men constantly employed. Fifty bridges have been constructed. Indeed, it would be hardly possible to describe the number of different works which have been executed in this route, or the materials that have been used. The aqueducts which adorn the walls by which it is sustained and flanked, the rocks which have been thrown down or worked through, all concur to render it worthy of the genius under whose auspices such innumerable difficulties were surmounted, and by which an undertaking has been accomplished which must excite universal admiration.

CONCLUSIVE OBSERVATIONS.

The want of proper governments is universally felt in Italy. To compare it with France, is to contrast a state of happiness with that of the damned. In the one, all is order, comfort, and security; in the other all is anarchy. This is owing to the admission, as a general principle, of what is called legitimacy.

The great and real objects of governments should be the safety and happi-

ness of the people. It is for this that governments are created. It is for this pledge of security that millions are paid for their support; and, if the object of their institution be not attained, the people, on a principle of right, the contract being broken, may refuse further contribution, until another more efficient is constituted.

The French, according to all accounts, had much improved Italy. Order and security are described as having been perfectly established. The licentious were not only restrained, but subdued. Assassination, so frequent before they arrived, seldom, and at last, never occurred. Improvements were daily made, not only in the general state of society, but in the private habits of the people. The roads were repaired, or new ones made; thus accelerating the frequency of communication with all parts of the country. The police was excellently well regulated, affording security to the traveller, as well as to the inhabitants.

We are indebted to the French for almost all the excavations and clearing away of the rubbish which had accumulated round some of the finest monuments of Roman antiquity; though their successors have modestly taken the credit to themselves, and had their names inscribed in large letters as the executors of those excellent improvements.

The French are a nation that we have been too much in the habit of vilifying, because they have been *termed* our natural enemies. But what should make them so?—and, if they are, what has caused it;—not any actual enmity or hostility, arising from the mass of the people, but the pride, ambition, and bad passions, of the rulers of each country, who, to further their own purposes, have promoted dissension and animosity. However, a time will assuredly come, when there will not be found four fools to follow another fool, whether his name be emperor, king, or by whatever title he may be designated, to war upon their fellow-creatures.

Many, I have no doubt, taking advantage of this feeling of prejudice against the French, have fed it by absurd relations, *with the sinister end of promoting the sale of their publications.* They have described the French as being without heart, without feeling; as if they were the *only* persons who might be thus characterized. From my own experience, I have found that they have heart, feeling, and sympathy.

There is a characteristic vivacity in the

the French, which is even enviable, inasmuch as it enables them to sustain, with good-humour, existing circumstances, whatever they may be. I doubt much, from what we have lately seen, whether they can be charged with that mutability of temper, which has been endeavoured to be established against them. There are evidently two parties in France, but one is far greater than the other; the neutrals, which will be found, in all states, fill up the mass.

After having seen all the delights of France and Italy, England is only still dearer to an Englishman's heart. The country that has produced a Bacon, a Shakspeare, a Milton, a Newton, and a Locke; that was the birth-place of Reynolds, and which now possesses a Davy, and a constellation of the brightest stars in art and science, must be ever dear to its citizens. Although there may be errors, the excellence of its laws and establishments are the envy of the world. Let those who have a desire to forsake their country know, that England is the only place in which an Englishman can reside.

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By JAMES MORIER, Esq.

Late his Majesty's Secretary of Embassy, and
Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Persia.

Quarto.—Pp. 435.—Price 3l. 13s. 6d.

[Persia claims attention, not less from its past renown than from its modern obscurity. When it was determined, a few years since, to send an embassy there, the ambassador's credentials could not, for a considerable time, be filled up, from its being impossible, in London, to ascertain the name and titles of the reigning sovereign. We have now, however, become as well acquainted with Persia as with any part of the world,—chiefly by means of the two works of Mr. MORIER. From the first we introduced ample extracts in the Supplement to our thirty-fourth volume; and from the second we now

gratify our readers with many interesting details. In embellishments, the second work does equal credit to the spirit of the publishers with the first; and the two volumes, in their abundant information, and in the creditable specimens which they afford of the state of the arts, printing and engraving, may be regarded as honourable to our national literature.]

RETURN OF THE PERSIAN EMBASSY.

THE Persian ambassador, whom I had conducted to England, by Turkey and the Mediterranean, in 1809, and who was known here by the name of Mirza Abul Hassan, to which has since been added the title of Khan, was now to return to his own country. It was settled that he should accompany a British mission to Persia; and preparations were accordingly made for the reception of the two ambassadors, with their respective suites, on board the *Lion*, 64, Capt. Heathcote,—the same ship which, eighteen years before, had carried Lord Macartney to China.

A Persian, who had been feasted and exhibited in London for nine months, and had seen all its objects of curiosity, might almost have exclaimed, on his return to Persia, in the words of his countryman in Montesquieu, *Jamais homme n'a tant été vu que moi*. But a scene of new and distinct adventures was still interposed between him and his home; and he was to complete his probation by passing seven months on the sea,—an element to which he had all the antipathy of his ancestors. It must be remembered, to their honour, that no set of men ever submitted to such a trial with more resignation, or indeed with a better grace, than the ambassador and his suite. They all left London with lively emotions of grief; many of them shed tears as they took leave of their English friends,—who, on their part, appeared to be equally affected. Several would willingly have remained in England; and one in particular, who had been struck with the quiet and security of an Englishman's life, compared to that of a Persian, exclaimed, that he could not wish for a better Paradise than Chelsea Hospital, where, for the remainder of his days, he could sit under the trees, do nothing, and drink as much porter as he liked.

The Persian embassy consisted of Mirza Abul Hassan, envoy-extraordinary, and of eight servants of different capacities:—Kerbelai Hassan, a nazir or steward, who also acted as cook; Abbas Beg,

Beg, a scribe; Hussein and Haushim, valets-de-chambre; Mahomed Ali Beg, Mahomed Rakheem Beg, jelowdars or grooms; and Abdallah and Saudik, ferashes or spreaders of carpets.

RIO DI JANEIRO.

We passed a fortnight at Rio di Janeiro, in the various employments of public visits and public dinners; and in the examination of the more curious objects in the town and its environs. The place is large, and well built for a colonial town; possessing several handsome churches and large monasteries. It ought, therefore, to afford a much better residence to the Prince Regent than the mean palace which he at present inhabits. It is not fortified, but has several detached works to protect its harbour; the most considerable of which is the castle of Santa Cruz, at the entrance, and a smaller castle on an island nearer the anchorage abreast of the town. Over the town, on an eminence, is a fortification called the Citadel; and another on the Isola das Cabros: however, nothing appeared sufficiently formidable to save the town from the dangers of a bombardment from the sea. A great quantity of fruit is produced in the gardens around the city, and much is also brought from the villages. Its oranges are highly esteemed; some of which, containing within them an incipient orange, were sent as a present from the Prince Regent to the ambassadors. They have all the tropical fruits here: but the mango and the pine-apple are said to be inferior to those of the East-Indies. Meat and poultry are dear; and we had great difficulty in recruiting our sea stock of the latter. Black pigs were to be seen in great abundance; and we observed a race of disgusting-looking dogs,—without hair, with a black skin, long body, long muzzle, short and crooked legs, and a long curling tail,—ranging about through all the filth of the streets, and apparently without masters.

Indeed, after England, we found the filth of St. Sebastian, and its inhabitants, quite disgusting. Even the Persians could exult; for, with great truth, they said that their towns were clean to what they saw here. It must, however, be allowed, that this is greatly owing to the negro community, who are so much more numerous than the other classes; and who, in certain emergencies, have scarcely a restriction beyond that of the brute creation. Of this we could too well judge, because the Campo di Lam-

pedosa, the large square that was situated before our house, was so constantly infested by them, at all hours of the day, that guards were placed to keep them at a distance.

During the time we were at the Brazils, the slave trade was in its full vigour; and a visit to the slave market impressed us more with the iniquity of this traffic, than any thing that could be said or written on the subject. On each side of the street where the market was held, were large rooms, in which the negroes were kept; and, during the day, they were seen in melancholy groupes, waiting to be delivered from the hands of the trader, whose dreadful economy might be traced in their persons, which, at that time, were little better than skeletons. If such were their state on shore, with the advantages of air and space, what must have been their condition on board the ship that brought them hither? It is not unfrequent that slaves escape to the woods; where they are almost as frequently retaken. When this is the case, they have an iron-collar put about their necks, with a long hooked arm extending from it, to impede their progress through the woods, in case they should abscond a second time. Yet, amidst all this misery, it was pleasing to observe the many negroes who frequented the churches; and to see them, in form and profession at least, making a part of a Christian congregation.

We saw few of the aborigines, for they shun, rather than court, their rulers. Those we saw were of a low stature, of a coppery red colour, with jet-black hair, high cheek-bones, turned-up noses, and broad unexpressive faces. The queen of a tribe, said to be cannibals that bordered on the Portuguese possessions, was shewn to us: her countenance was terrific. She was a prisoner, and attempts were made to humanize her; but hitherto, we were assured, without much success. The proportion of blacks to pure European whites, at St. Sebastian, is as nine to one: they have, however, so intermarried, that there are complexions to be found of all tints, from downright black to dirty whity brown.

ASTROLOGY.

It was now near two years since the Persian ambassador had quitted his country; and, as it was of great importance that he should set foot upon it under the most favourable auspices, he waited until the astrologers had fixed upon a lucky

lucky moment, which was at three hours after sunrise on the following morning, viz. the 3d of March. At that hour he quitted the *Lion*, with all the honours due to his rank; and, when arrived close to the beach, he evinced a feeling that does credit both to his heart and understanding. Owing to the want of a regular landing place, he was obliged to be carried out of the boat on men's shoulders. A number of Persians pressed round him, offering their services: but he refused them, and desired that the English sailors might bear him on shore, saying, by them he had been brought thus far, and by them he would be landed,—a sort of attention well calculated to gain the hearts of the sailors.

Almost every town in Persia has its *munajem*, or astrologer; and frequently great men have one attached to their person, who regulates all the actions of their lives. It will be seen, during the course of this narrative, of what universal influence this dependence upon the aspect of the heavenly bodies has upon the lives of the Persians,—a custom which can only be accounted for by antiquity. The belief in astrology is not so universal with the Turks, who are greater predestinarians than the Persians; and, consequently, take less precautions to avert what futurity might have in store for them.

ASPECT OF PERSIA.

It would, perhaps be impossible to give to an inhabitant of London a correct idea of the first impressions made upon the European stranger on his landing in Persia. Accustomed, as his eye has been, to neatness, cleanliness, and a general appearance of convenience in the exteriors of life, he feels a depression of spirits in beholding the very contrary. Instead of houses with high roofs, well glazed and painted, and in neat rows, he finds them low, flat-roofed, without windows, placed in little connexion. In vain he looks for what his idea of a street may be: he makes his way through the narrowest lanes, incumbered with filth, dead animals, and mangy dogs. He hears a language totally new to him, spoken by a people whose looks and dress are equally extraordinary. Instead of our smooth chins and tight dresses, he finds rough faces, masked with beards and mustachios, in long flapping clothes. He sees no active people walking about, with an appearance of something to do; but here and there he meets a native just crawling along in slipshod shoes. When he seeks the markets and shops,

a new and original scene opens upon him. Little open sheds in rows, between which is a passage, serving as a street, of about eight feet in breadth, are to be seen, instead of our closely-shut shops, with windows gaily decked. Here the vender sits, surrounded with his wares. In a country where there is so little apparent security of property, it is surprising how a man so easily exposes his goods to the pilfer of rogues. Comparisons might be made without end; but, however distressing the transition from great civilization to comparative barbarity may be, yet it is certain that first impressions soon wear off, and that the mind receives a new accession of feelings, adapted precisely to the situation in which it is placed.

RUINS OF PERSEPOLIS.

I went early in the morning to the ruins, which were situated about a mile from my habitation, attended by the stone-cutters. Considering the quantity of sculptured remains that had fallen from their original positions, and which were spread about the ruins in great profusion, I did not hesitate to appropriate such parts of them as seemed the most fitting to be sent to England. The most interesting part of the ruins, in point of sculptured detail, is certainly the front of the stair-case, which leads to the great hall of columns; and here I found many fallen pieces, corresponding to those still erect. I caused one large stone to be turned, upon which was sculptured the busts of two large figures. It was impossible to carry away the whole block, as I had no other mode of conveyance than the backs of mules and asses; consequently, the two figures were obliged to be separated: but, unfortunately, a vein running across the upper part of the stone, the head-dress of one of the figures was broken off in the operation. The Persians do not know the use of the saw in stone-cutting; therefore my dissections were performed in a very rude manner. I was lucky to find the commencement of the arrow-headed inscription, the termination of which Le Bruyn has given in his drawings: so, if this character should ever be deciphered, we should be in possession of the whole of the inscription. I perceived the angle of a block just appearing on the surface of the ground, opposite to that part of the inscription which is now remaining, and concluded it must be the commencement of it. It may be imagined how happy I was to find, after the long toil of digging

digging it up, that my conclusion was well founded.

Both Le Bruyn and Chardin have only given one line of figures on the left of the stair-case; but, as it was evident that, in order to complete the symmetry, there must have been the same number on the left as there are on the right, I hired some labourers from the surrounding villages, and made them dig. To my great delight, a second row of figures, highly preserved, were discovered; the details of whose faces, hair, dresses, arms, and general character, seemed but as the work of yesterday. The faces of all the figures to the right of the staircase are mutilated,—which must be attributed to the bigotry of the first Mussulmans who invaded Persia; those of the newly-discovered figures are quite perfect, which shows that they must have been covered before the Saracen invasion: the nicety of their preservation would lead one to suppose that they had been so protected for many ages before that invasion.

On comparing Le Bruyn's, Chardin's, and Niebuhr's drawings with the sculptures, I found them in general correct in outline, but imperfect in the details of dress, arms, &c. Although the figures are in themselves ill-proportioned, inelegant, and deficient in anatomical drawing, yet they are prodigiously interesting in general character, and have not been done justice to in the works of those travellers. They furnish the best models of what were the nations that invaded Greece with Xerxes, and that were subdued by Alexander.

A EUNUCH.

An Ethiopian eunuch, among the rest, became quite intimate with us, and scarcely let a day pass without calling upon us. He had been brought very young a slave into the country, and had been placed in the harem of the prince, as a guardian over the women. All his ideas partook of the nature of his employment, and of his constant intercourse with women. He used to evince the greatest incredulity at the account which we gave him of the liberty of our women; and he particularly expressed his horror, when we told him that they walked abroad unveiled, and talked with impunity to other men besides their husbands. I once showed him a miniature picture of my mother: after looking at it for some time, he exclaimed, "Then I suppose your father is a painter?" When I answered "No," in great astonishment he said, "Then who could have painted this picture?" He could not, in fewer

words, have given me an insight into the whole of his feelings upon this subject.

LOCUSTS.

On the 11th of June, whilst seated in our tents about noon, we heard a very unusual noise, that sounded like the rushing of a great wind at a distance. On looking up we perceived an immense cloud, here and there semi-transparent, in other parts quite black; that spread itself all over the sky, and at intervals shadowed the sun. This we soon found to be locusts, whole swarms of them falling about us: but their passage was but momentary; for a fresh wind from the south-west, which had brought them to us, so completely drove them forwards, that not a vestige of them was to be seen two hours after. The locusts which we saw at Bushire were like those which Shaw saw in Barbary in 1724 and 5, with legs and body of a bright yellow, and the wings spotted brown. These were larger, and of a red colour; and, I should suppose, are the real predatory locust,—one of the Egyptian plagues: they are also the great grasshopper mentioned by the prophet Nahum, no doubt in contradistinction to the lesser, (c. iii. v. 17.) As soon as they appeared the gardeners and husbandmen made loud shouts, to prevent their settling on their grounds.

The strength and agility of these animals make me suppose that this was their first flight, and that they could not have come from any great distance. The Persians said they came from the Germesir; which is likely enough, as that was the direction whence the wind blew. They seemed to be impelled by one common instinct, and moved in one body, which had the appearance of being organized by a leader. As all was dry in the plain of Shiraz, the same instinct seemed to propel them forwards to countries of more vegetation; and, with a small slant of the wind to the westward, they would get into the mountains of Louriston, where the corn was not ripe; and where, as the prophet Joel says (xi. 3), after comparing them to a great army,—“they had the land of Eden before them.” Their strength must be very great, if we consider what immense journeys they have been known to make. Pliny says they came from Africa to Italy: they have been known in Scotland. Mandelsloe saw them in the island of Madagascar, the nearest point of which, from Mosambique, on the Continent, is 120 leagues. This proves them to exist in the southern hemisphere; and, if Arabia be their native

native country, as naturalists affirm, they do not always travel northward, as Shaw seems to think; but, perhaps, take the impulse which the first wind may give them after they are ready to fly.

I have had opportunities, from time to time, to make observations on the locust, particularly at Smyrna, where, in 1800, they committed great depredations. About the middle of April the hedges and ridges of the fields began to swarm with young locusts; which then wore a black appearance, had no wings, and were quite harmless. About the middle of May they had increased triple the size, were of a grey cindery colour, and had incipient wings about half an inch long. They still continued to be harmless: but, at the end of June, they had grown to their full size, which was three and a half inches in length; the legs, head, and extremities, red; the body a pale colour, tending to red. They appear to be created for a scourge; since to strength incredible, for so small a creature, they add saw-like teeth, admirably calculated "to eat up all the herbs in the land, and devour the fruit of the ground." Psalm cv. v. 34. They remained on the face of the country during the months of July and August; sometimes taking their flight in vast clouds, and, impelled by a strong wind, were either lost in the sea, or were driven into other countries. It was during their stay that they showed themselves to be the real plague described in Exodus. They seemed to march in regular battalions, crawling over every thing that lay in their passage, in one straight front. They entered the inmost recesses of the houses, were found in every corner, stuck to our clothes, and infested our food. It is an extraordinary circumstance, that the barn-door fowls eat them before they are quite full grown; and that, when such was the case, the yolk of the eggs which the hens laid was of a dark reddish colour, partaking of that of the locust. The locusts lay their eggs in the autumn, which they do frequently before they take their flight. Sometimes they deposit them in countries where they alight after their flight; gestation and generation going on during their excursion: for, even on the wing, the male and female locust are frequently found together.

The husbandmen and vine-dressers knew whether eggs had been deposited by them, and were most active in discovering them. Sometimes it would hap-

pen that none had been deposited at one village, whilst they were found at the next; and they calculated their harvests and vintages accordingly. The operation of the female locust in laying her eggs is highly interesting: she chooses a piece of light earth, well protected by a bush or hedge, where she makes a hole for herself, so deep that her head just appears above it. She here deposits an oblong substance, exactly the shape of her own body, which contains a considerable number of eggs, arranged in neat order, in rows against each other, which remain buried in the ground, most carefully and artificially protected from the cold of winter. When that is over, several male locusts surround and kill her.

The eggs are brought into life by the heat of the sun. If the heats commence early, the locusts early gain strength; and it is then that their depredations are most feared,—because they commence them before the corn has had time to ripen, and they attack the stem when it is still tender.

Harmer would probably have derived some help from what has happened to fall under my observation on this subject in his illustration of the 17th verse of the 3d chapter of prophet Nahum; for I conjecture, that "camping in the hedges in the cold day," may be explained, by the eggs being deposited during the winter; and, "when the sun ariseth they flee away," may also be illustrated by the flying away of the insect as soon as it had felt the sun's influence.

AMEEN-AD DOWLAH.

As the modern state of Ispahan is in great measure identified with the Ameen-ad-Dowlah, and as his history gives great insight into the vicissitudes of Persian life, the following account of him may, I hope, be found acceptable. He was originally a green grocer in Ispahan, of which city he and his family are natives. His first rise from this humble station was to become the Ket Khoda (or deputy) of his *mahal*, or division; his next to become that of a larger *mahal*. He then was promoted to be the *Kelantir* (or mayor) of the city; and thence he became the *Thaubit* (or chief) of a rich and extensive district near Ispahan, where he acquired great reputation for his good government. He afterwards made himself acceptable in the eyes of the late king, by a large *peesh kesh*, or present; and, as the then governor of Ispahan was a man of dissolute life, oppressive and unjust, he succeeded

ceeded in deposing him, and was himself appointed the *Beglerbeg*. Here, from his intimate knowledge of the markets, and of all the resources of the city, and of its inhabitants, he managed to create a larger revenue than had ever before been collected. He became the partner of every shopkeeper, of every farmer, and of every merchant: setting up those with capitals who were in want, and increasing the means of others who were already in trade. He thus appeared to confer benefits, when, by his numerous monopolies, he raised the prices of almost every commodity. But, as this revenue was apparently acquired without the oppression of the peasant, his reputation as a financier greatly increased; and, in spite of all the opposition of his enemies, he advanced rapidly in the confidence of the reigning monarch, and in the honours to which it led. When the present king came to the throne, his zeal, his devotedness, and particularly his presents, secured to him a continuation of the royal favour; and, at length, he rose to be the Ameen-ad-Dowlah, the second vizier of the state. How he acquired the riches which first enabled him to emerge from his green-grocer's stall, is not exactly known. His enemies say, that, during the last civil wars in Persia, a string of Jaaser Khan's mules were passing close to his house, in the middle of the night, when two of them by chance were detached from the rest: that they strayed into his yard; and that they happened to be loaded with effects in precious stones, and other articles of great value; which, on the subsequent destruction of that prince, he appropriated to himself. This would make a good episode in an Arabian night's tale; and, at any rate, it may be said, that by these, or some other means, he made presents to Meerza Shefea, then the prime minister, for the sake of being permitted to stand in his presence.

There cannot be a stronger instance than he is, of the few qualifications, either of birth or learning, that are necessary to become a statesman in Persia. He is as illiterate as a green-grocer may well be supposed. Since his elevation, necessity has obliged him to learn how to read and write; but he has succeeded so ill, that he can scarcely make out a common note, or join two words together in writing. That "a little learning is a dangerous thing," was never better applied than to him: for once, at an audience of the king, being called upon

to read a list of presents just received, he made so great a mistake, that his Majesty grew wroth, and was about to inflict summary punishment, when he got out of the dilemma by offering on the spot a large sum of money, as an apology for his ignorance. Sancho managed these things better.

But in his particular department, that of raising money to feed the king's coffers, perhaps no man in Persia has ever surpassed him; and, with all this, we found the people of Ispahan, from whom the greater part of the riches are derived, in general very well disposed towards him. He takes a pride in the improvement of the city and its environs; and his success is evident to my eye since I was here last. The public buildings have been repaired and beautified, new avenues have been planted, the cultivation has considerably increased, and there is a more general appearance of affluence and prosperity.

ISPAHAN.

The great city of Ispahan, which Chardin has described as being twenty-four miles in circumference, were it to be weeded (if the expression may be used) of its ruins, would now dwindle to about a quarter of that circumference. One might suppose that God's curse had extended over parts of this city, as it did over Babylon. Houses, bazaars, mosques, palaces, whole streets, are to be seen in total abandonment; and I have rode for miles among its ruins, without meeting with any living creature, except perhaps a jackal peeping over a wall, or a fox running to his hole.

In a large tract of ruins, where houses in different stages of decay are to be seen, now and then an inhabited house may be discovered, the owner of which may be assimilated to Job's forlorn man, "dwelling in desolate cities, and in houses which no man inhabiteth, which are ready to become heaps," chap. xv. verse 28. Such a remark as this must have arisen from scenes similar to those which parts of Ispahan present; and, unless the particular feeling of melancholy which they inspire has been felt, no words can convey adequate ideas of it.

But if the ruins, when examined in detail, are saddening to the sight; yet, as they are not distinguishable from the inhabited houses, when seen in masses from afar, they tend greatly to magnify the extent of the city, and to give it the appearance now of what must have been its former greatness. The view which
breaks

breaks upon the traveller, when he arrives from the southward, is in the finest style of grandeur; and one may excuse the Persian who, in his exultation at the sight, exclaims, that his *Isfahan* is *nisfeh jehan*.*

In forming his idea of this city, let not the reader bring it into comparison with any of the capitals of Europe. Here are no long and broad streets, no architectural beauties, and few monuments of private wealth, or public munificence. At *Ispahan*, indeed, (and it is nearly the same in all despotic countries) the interior of houses is much better than their exterior would indicate. Indeed, where scarcely any thing of the house is to be seen from the street, but a dead wall, as is the case with the generality of Persian houses, there is not much room for exterior ornament. This constant succession of walls, unenlivened by windows, gives a character of mystery to their dull streets, which is greatly heightened by now and then observing the women, through the small apertures made in the wall, stealing a look at the passengers below.

The entrances to the houses from the street are generally mean and low. A poor man's door is scarcely three feet in height; and this is a precautionary measure to hinder the servants of the great from entering it on horseback; which, when any act of oppression is going on, they would make no scruple to do. But the habitation of a man in power is known by his gate, which is generally elevated in proportion to the vanity of its owner. A lofty gate is one of the insignia of royalty; such is the *Allah Capi* at *Ispahan*, and *Bab Homayan*, or the Sublime Porte, at Constantinople. This must have been the same in ancient days. The gates of Jerusalem, Zion, &c. are often mentioned in the Scripture with the same notion of grandeur annexed to them.

The houses of *Ispahan* are one story in height, but are composed of so many compartments, that even the meanest of them occupy a considerable area; for the extent that we occupy in our high houses, is in Persia laid out horizontally. They are built either of earth or brick, and their uniformity in height and colour produces a very dull appearance when seen collectively.

The bazaars are very extensive, and it is possible to walk under cover in them for two or three miles together. The

trades are here collected in separate bodies, which make it very convenient to purchasers; and, indeed, we may from analogy suppose the same to have been the case from the most ancient times, when we consider the command of Zedekiah to feed Jeremiah from the "bakers' street," Jeremiah xxxvii. 21.

To a stranger, the bazaars are the most amusing place of resort; for here is a continual concourse of people, in which characters of all descriptions, each busied in their different avocations, are seen to pass in rotation. Many of the scenes, so familiar to us in the Arabian Nights, are here realised. The young Christian merchant; the lady of quality riding on a mule, attended by her eunuch and her she-slave; the Jewish physician; the *dalal*, or crier, showing goods about; the barber *Alnascar*, sitting with his back against the wall in a very little shop: and thus almost every character may be met with. The *Mollahs*, or men of the law, are generally to be seen riding about on mules; and they also account it a dignity, and suited to their character, to ride on white asses,—which is a striking illustration of what we read in Judges, v. 10, "Speak ye that ride on white asses, ye that sit in judgment."

CATHOLIC CHURCH AT ISPAHAN.

It was not until we were one day accosted in the Italian language, by a little, fresh, cheerful-looking man, that we were aware of the existence of a Roman Catholic Church at *Ispahan*. He was its priest, and the last of the missionaries of the Propaganda, who had long been established in Persia. His name was *Padré Yusuf*, a Roman by birth; and he had lived fifteen years at *Ispahan*,—during which time he had scarcely acquired a word of the Persian language; but could converse fluently in Armenian and Turkish. We seized the first opportunity of paying him a visit; and we had no difficulty in finding where he lived,—for he seemed to be known by every inhabitant of *Julfa*.

Padré Yusuf informed us, that his flock does not at present amount to more than fourteen or fifteen souls; but that, in the better days of Persia, large numbers of Europeans formed a part of the congregation on Sundays and holidays. We could almost imagine ourselves to be in Europe; conversing, as we were, in Italian, in a church so like in its interior to those of Catholic countries. The *Padré* informed us that, as long as the Pope was in power, he used to receive succours

* *Ispahan*—half the world.

succours in money; but now his necessities were so great, that he scarcely knew how to live. He said that, like the other monks, he would long ago have returned to his own country, but that he felt himself bound in duty to take care of the small flock of Catholics still existing at Ispahan. During the commotions of Ali Mahommed Khan's reign, he used to keep watch on the roof of his church with a gun on his shoulder; and, whenever he was in fear of being attacked, he did not fail to make a show of resistance.

He then opened the library, a small square room, with shelves all around, upon which were heaped books of all descriptions, covered with dust. The floor also was spread with books, old papers, letters, accounts, all relating to the business of the former missionaries, written in a variety of languages, and some of a very old date. The books were in French, Italian, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, mostly on religious subjects; but so much neglected and out of order, that to us it did not appear that there was one complete work throughout the whole collection. What the *Padré* prized the most, was a Polyglot Bible, containing the Old Testament in Hebrew, Chaldaic, Greek, Latin, German, and Italian. We put some books aside, and asked whether he would not name a price for them; but the good man, although nearly starving, and without a probability of any other priest succeeding him, decidedly refused our offer, saying that they belonged not to him, but to the church.

CULTIVATION.

About the 23d of August, the peasants began to plough the ground in the vicinity of Ispahan. An old ploughman, who was at work near the village of Sheheristan, informed us that the field which he was ploughing belonged to the government, but that he had rented it from the Ameen-ad-Dowlah upon the following terms:—he provided his own oxen and plough, and the Ameen-ad-Dowlah the corn-seed and the ground. At the harvest, Ameen-ad-Dowlah got three-fourths of the produce, and he the remaining fourth. We afterwards learnt that the whole of the land about Ispahan was farmed in the same manner; and that its irrigation, which was made by cuts from the Zaiian derood, was at the expense of the Ameen-ad-Dowlah. The manure which is used for corn-fields is generally the produce of a flock of sheep and goats, a small sum being paid to the shepherd, who keeps them upon the

appointed ground for whatever length of time may have been the agreement.

MANUFACTURES.

The richest manufacture of Ispahan is the *zeri*, or brocade. We visited a house in which three looms were at work: the brocade which they were manufacturing had a rich appearance, but did not equal the *kincobs* of India, or the gold-stuffs of France. The rich Persians wear the *zeri* for their outer garment on gala-days; and of this the *kulaats*, or dresses of honour, which the king and his sons confer, are made. A piece of brocade, three-fourth of a *zer* in breadth, and five *zers* in length, is worth, according to the quality, from five to ten tomauns. We also visited a manufactory of satin, called in Persian *atlas*, which appeared a very fine stuff, and which the Persians also use for their outward coat, the *caba*. Ispahan possesses many manufactories of silk,—a commodity which is brought for the most part from Ghilan. The spinning-wheels of the Persians are constructed like those of Europe. We visited a house where fifty skanes of silk were spun in one day, and were then conducted to seven looms belonging to the same manufactory; where long black silk handkerchiefs, which the Persian women wear as turbans, were wove. These seven looms employed thirty men. The weavers are paid by the piece, and not by the day; and, for completing one handkerchief, which is two *zers* and a quarter square, they receive two piastres (about three shillings and eight-pence). We were informed that they could finish one handkerchief in two days; but it seemed to us difficult to do so much.

Cotton is also manufactured at Ispahan into cloths of different qualities, from the plant which grows in the neighbourhood of the city. Nine-tenths of the Ispahan cotton is consumed on the spot, and the rest is exported. Their principal cotton manufacture is the *kadek*, a strong and excellent cloth, which resembles nankeen, and which is worn by all ranks of people, from the king to the peasant. It is also exported to Russia by the Caspian sea, and is there used for the undress of the Russian soldiery. The *kerbas* is another cotton cloth, of which the shirts and drawers of the lower orders are generally made: stronger qualities of it are used for tent-coverings, &c. They paint cotton stuffs with a hand stamp, and they then are called *chit*, (perhaps from our chintz,) and wash them on the banks of

of the Zaian derood; which they do by beating the stuff on a stone, and then spreading it on the sand to dry.

Paper, gun-powder, sword blades, glass, and earthenware, are also manufactured at Ispahan, but not in great quantities.

MANUSCRIPTS.

No regular bazaar for books is established at Ispahan, as at Constantinople; but we were well supplied with manuscripts by the *delals*, or brokers,—men who are useful, though dishonest, who generally procured for us the books we wanted, by searching for them in shops, or in private houses. Several very fine manuscripts were brought to us, besides a great variety of Persian drawings. The Persians are not so bigotted with respect to the pollution of the Koran, by the touch of infidels, as the Turks; for many copies were brought to us for sale. But they hold it in great respect; for, one day, a Mollah brought us some books for sale, which he spread upon the ground before us,—one of us by chance placing his foot upon a Cuffick manuscript, containing sentences of the Koran, was reprimanded by the Persian, who exclaimed, "Beware, that is the word of God!"

ATTEMPTS TO INTRODUCE VACCINATION.

During the winter, the surgeons of the embassy endeavoured to introduce vaccination among the Persians, and their efforts at first were very successful: but, owing to the opposition of the Persian doctors, and to the little countenance which they received from men in authority, their labours had nearly proved abortive. The surgeons, having procured the cow-pock matter from Constantinople, commenced their operations at Teheran with so much success, that, in the course of one month, they had vaccinated three hundred children. Their houses were constantly thronged with women, bringing their offspring to them; and there was every appearance of a general dissemination of this blessing throughout Teheran, when of a sudden its progress was checked by the government itself. Several of the king's *ferashes* were placed at the gate of the ambassador's hotel, nominally as a mark of attention to his excellency, but really to stop all women from going to our surgeons. They said, that if the people wanted their children to be vaccinated, the fathers, and not the mothers, were to take them to the surgeons: by which means the eagerness for vaccination was

stopped; for we soon discovered that the males did not feel one half the same anxiety for their offspring as the women. Notwithstanding the ravages which are annually made among the Persians by the small-pox, for which they have hitherto found no remedy; yet they are so wedded to their own prescriptions, that they rather adhere to them, than give their children a chance of being saved, by adopting a new mode of treatment.

THE KING OF PERSIA.

The ambassador, during the winter, had frequent interviews with the king, who conversed with him in the most familiar manner, upon all sorts of subjects. It happened one day that his Majesty was in high spirits, or, as the Persians would say, *damaughish chawk bûd*, and sent for the ambassador to converse with him. The grand vizier, Mirza Sheffea, was also present. After using many flattering expressions, his Majesty said to the ambassador, "that he had been informed by his viziers, that in England we had a variety of modes of increasing the revenue of the country, of which they were totally ignorant in Persia.—Now tell me, what might be done here, as you do it in England?" The ambassador answered, "That one of the things which he thought might be established in Persia, useful to his Majesty's subjects, and beneficial to his treasury, was a post for the transmission of letters." He then explained the nature of an English post, its advantages, and its profits. "Aye, aye, (said the king,) I perfectly comprehend you." Then, turning to the grand vizier, he said, "Now, Mirza Sheffea, I'll tell you exactly how it is. You, for instance, have a correspondent at Ispahan: of course you can't afford to give a messenger ten tomauns every time you have something to say, which, on urgent occasions, you are now obliged to do: but, if you had an opportunity of communicating with him every day,—which the post would give you,—you would write to him constantly, and your concerns would go on well. Now, that is the utility of the thing. As for the profit, it is thus: we will say, two hundred letters are to be sent to Ispahan, for each of which one real will be charged by the post. Now there are about ten stages from here to Ispahan; the men who carry the letters from stage to stage will be contented to receive a real a piece: therefore, giving ten to the carriers,

riers, 190 will remain clear profit to the Shah.—*Be Ser Shah*,* by the head of the king, (exclaimed his Majesty,) this is excellent. But (turning to the ambassador,) you have more expedients still. Tell me what is there besides the post, that we have not in Persia? His excellency would have been happy to drop the subject, for he felt that the information which would be drawn from him might be disagreeable to the grand vizier; but the king being very urgent, he informed his Majesty, that one of the great sources of our revenue, (but which was resorted to only on particular emergencies, was the income tax, the principles of which he explained, endeavouring to impress upon the king's mind, that it was intended to bear more upon the rich than the poor; a principle which the English government kept constantly in view, when the exigencies of the state required the levying of new taxes. "What do you say to that? (said the king to the grand vizier,) these English are extraordinary people." The ambassador, in continuation, said, "We have also taxes, that are more particularly levied upon the rich. If a man keep more than a certain number of horses, he is taxed in a progressive ratio for every supernumerary horse; the same for servants, for carriages, &c." "Did you hear that, Mirza Sheffea," exclaimed the king. "I am your† sacrifice; I am ready to pay whatever your Majesty pleases," said the vizier. "That's right, (returned the king;) but there is a great deal of policy, as well as profit, in what the ambassador says; for instance, a governor-general of India makes an immense fortune, and returns home richer than a Shahzadeh (a king's son): he sets up great state, and eclipses all the princes; it is of course very proper that he should be made to pay for such advantages." The king then requested the ambassador to make a written note of the different details which he had already given in conversation; and hoped

* The king always talks of himself in the third person, and frequently swears by his own head. Also, *Be Jan Shah*,—by the king's soul; *Be Merg Shah*,—by the king's death; and these expressions, in constant use by all Persians, will remind us of Joseph's speech to his brethren, *by the life of Pharaoh*, &c. Genesis xlii. 15 and 16.

† Every Persian, speaking to his sovereign, generally prefaces his speech by this expression, *Korbanet shurum*.

that he might be enabled to realise them in Persia.

Upon another occasion, the king asked the ambassador what had become of the Pope. "I hear you no longer acknowledge his supremacy: how long is it since you have been *yaghi*, or in rebellion, against him?" His excellency then explained, and gave an outline of the history of Henry the Eighth. "Ah, (said the king,) he must have been a clever king indeed; he did just what I would have done. But what difference is there between your religion and that of the Papists?" The ambassador answered, that we had discarded from our service the mummery of their's; and that they believed in certain doctrines which were contrary to our faith, and particularly instanced that of transubstantiation. "What! (exclaimed the king,) when they eat a bit of bread, they really believe it to be flesh! what dolts! You are in the right. I can comprehend eating bread in commemoration of the death of Jesus to be a good doctrine; but that bread should turn into flesh is nonsense indeed."

THE PRINCE.

At the beginning of April, Mahomed Ali Mirza, the prince governor of Kermanshah arrived at Teheran. He came escorted by a very few men, and performed the journey in five days; which, for a prince, the Persians allowed was a great undertaking. As this personage is likely to be a prominent character in the future history of Persia, I will give an account of a visit which the ambassador paid to him during his stay at Teheran, in consequence of a wish expressed to that purpose by the prince himself.

The *Imaret Khorsheed*, or the Palace of the Sun, in which the prince received us, is situated in a garden, behind the great hall of audience, in which the king daily sits in state on his marble throne, and is beautifully ornamented in its interior with marble and paintings. When we entered the room in which he was seated, the grand vizier advanced from where he was standing, and pointed to a place about half way down the room, where he intended the ambassador should sit. The latter did not heed this, but walked up close to the prince, and seated himself upon the same musnud, to the trepidation of the vizier, and astonishment of the prince; who, although evidently annoyed, gave us the usual welcome.

The

The prince in person is of strong make, of a rather vulgar appearance, and of a bad though lively expression of countenance. He talked with great animation, with a loud voice, and much gesticulation. There was much acuteness in what he said;—he asked questions, and then argued upon the answers he received, adhering most obstinately to his own opinions, and not hesitating to give the flattest contradictions.

The conversation turned upon *Yengee Daniah*, or America, a subject upon which all Persians are very curious and inquisitive. On this topic, we were surprized to find the prince, as the French would say, *ferré à glace*. He appeared to have just been reading the history of America. He talked not only with historical but geographical knowledge, which of all other is the rarest amongst Orientals. He told us the distinctions between North and South America with great accuracy, and entered into the details of the history of Mexico in a manner that greatly astonished us.

THE ENGLISH PRESENTS.

About the 10th of May, Mahomed Khan, the head of the king's camel artillery, who had been sent to Bushire to superintend the transmission of the military stores and presents which we had brought with us from England and India, arrived at Teheran. He had made levies of men throughout the country, for the purpose of carrying the baggage, which consisted of several carriages, looking-glasses, a grand piano-forte, a large mahogany dining-table, and many other heavy pieces of furniture. As the Persians have no wheeled conveyances, and as the greater part of these articles was too bulky to be loaded on camels, they were carried on the backs of men from Bushire to Teheran, a distance of about 620 miles. It would be impossible to describe the mutilated state in which every thing reached us. One of the modes adopted for lessening the labour of descending the steep mountains between Bushire and Shiraz, was that of fastening some of the cases upon a gun-carriage, and permitting it to run at random down the declivities; by which contrivance most of the carriages were disabled, and of course the thing attached to them totally demolished. Of seventy mirrors, which the ambassador brought into Persia, he received about one-third safe, the rest were entirely demolished.

The carriages which were brought as presents to the king, were not put together.

ther until they reached us at Teheran. One that had been built in England on purpose for the king, which was the least damaged, we succeeded to render serviceable, and then the ambassador presented it to His Majesty in great form.

It was first necessary to knock down part of the wall of our court-yard to get it into the street, and then it was dragged with considerable difficulty through the narrow streets and bazars to the king's palace, where the ambassador, attended by the grand vizier, and all the principal officers of the state, were in readiness to exhibit to the king. His Majesty walked around the carriage, examined it very minutely, admired its beauty, criticised its contrivances, and then got inside, leaving his shoes at the door, and seating himself with much satisfaction upon the velvet cushions. Mirza Abul Hassan Khan, the late Persian envoy, Feroj Ullah Khan (the chief executioner), some of the secretaries of state, and other personages of rank, all in their court dresses, then fastened themselves to it, and dragged his Majesty backwards and forwards to his great delight, which he expressed by some good remarks on the conveniency of carriages, and the ingenuity of Europeans, who had brought them to such perfection. The circumstance that surprised the grand vizier the most, was that it could go backwards as well as forwards. The king kept his seat for more than half an hour, observing that there would be very good sitting-room for two, pointing to the bottom of the carriage as the place for the second. When he had smoked his kaleoon within it, he descended, and made the ambassador a very handsome acknowledgment for so magnificent a present, and ordered the Ameen-ad-Dowlah to purchase six large horses to draw it; however, we learnt shortly after that it was put into a warehouse, where it was bricked up, where it has been ever since, and where it is likely to remain.

ABBAS MIRZA, THE PRINCE ROYAL.

In one of his first interviews with the ambassador, he described, with great *naïveté*, what were the first motives which induced him to attempt the introduction of European discipline among his troops. He said, that he soon found out that it was in vain to fight the Russians without soldiers like theirs; that their artillery could only be opposed by artillery; and that all his efforts to make an impression upon them, with his undisciplined rabble, had uniformly been unsuccessful. His first es-

says in discipline were attended with little success, because he had, in the outset, to combat the prejudices of the Persian recruits themselves, who rejected the idea of being assimilated in any manner to *Firengees*, and particularly to Russians, whom their national hatred made them despise, or perhaps their fear caused them to hate, more than all other Europeans. To efface such impressions, the prince said that he himself was obliged to adopt a soldier's dress, and to submit to learn the military exercise from a Russian; that he commenced with twenty or thirty men at a time, whom he caused to be drilled in a separate court by themselves, in order that they might not be exposed to the ridicule of the populace; and that it was not until he had ordered his nobles to follow his example, and handle a musket, that he found his scheme making any progress. So far he had succeeded in teaching a few of his men the platoon exercise, to march abreast, to turn about at the word of command, and to beat a drum; but he wanted officers, and he very probably would have got no further, if the French embassy from Bonaparte had not arrived in Persia at that time, when the officers attached to it were put into commands of large bodies, and they advanced his views to the utmost of his expectations. What were but the rudiments of military science appeared to him its perfection; and, notwithstanding he afterwards discovered how little his first levies had learnt, yet still, in recollection of the pleasure which their appearance had given him, he ever after entertained a greater partiality for them than for his other troops.

The English mission which succeeded the French, also supplied him with officers, and his first wish was to raise a corps of artillery, which was done by Lieutenant Lindsay, an officer of the Madras army, in a manner truly astonishing. The zeal of this officer was only to be equalled by the encouragement of the prince, who, putting himself above all prejudices, resisting the jealousy of his officers, and the cabal of courtiers, liberally adopted every method proposed, and supported Lieutenant Lindsay against every difficulty that was thrown in his way. He gave him full power to punish his recruits in any manner he chose, and gave him unlimited control over his troop. It was only upon the article of shaving off beards, that the prince was inexorable; nor would the sacrifice of them have ever taken place if it had not

happened that, on firing the guns before the prince, a powder-horn exploded in the hand of a gunner, who by good luck had been gifted with a long beard, which, in one instant, was blown away from his chin. Lieutenant Lindsay, who did not lose this opportunity to prove his argument on the encumbrance of beards to soldiers, immediately produced the scorched and mutilated gunner before the prince, who was so struck with his woeful appearance, that the abolition of military beards was instantly decided upon.

The *serbaz* or infantry were placed under the command of Major Christie of the Bombay army, an officer of the greatest merit, who inspired his troops with an *esprit de corps*, that manifested itself on many occasions.

Their ideas of courage are totally different from ours. They look upon courage as a quality which a man may have or have not, as he may feel at the moment. One of the king's generals, who has the reputation of being a courageous man, was not ashamed to own that he and a large body of troops had been kept at bay by two Russian soldiers, who alternately fired their muskets at them, and at length obliged them to move away. In talking of the Russians, they say that they are so divested of feeling, that, rather than retire, they die on the spot.

After the first visits of ceremony were over, the ambassador scarcely passed a day, for a month after, without spending several hours in the company of the prince, when formality and etiquette were laid aside, and when his Royal Highness entered into all the details of his government without the smallest reserve. Although sincerity be not the virtue of his country, and although we were warned not to forget that he also was a Persian, yet such appearance of candour was there in his manner, accompanied by such engaging affability, that we all permitted ourselves to believe that he was as superior in mind to the rest of his countrymen as he certainly was in his exterior qualities. Seldom have I met, in any country, a man so fascinating as Abbas Mirza. His countenance is always animated, his smile is agreeable, and his conversation is full of *naïveté* and pleasantry. In his dress he is scarcely to be distinguished from other persons, for he generally wears the *kadek*, the common manufactured cotton-stuff of Persia, made up into a single-breasted *caba*, with a Cashmerian shawl round his waist. The

greatest

greatest piece of finery belonging to him is a diamond-hilted dagger, which once was the property of Lutf Ali Khan, and which, on a former emergency, he threatened to sell, in order to defray some arrears of pay to his troops. He wears English boots; and expressed great admiration at the helmets of our light dragoons, which he said he would make no scruple to wear.

To Europeans he is studiously polite: when they visit him, he enters into that sort of conversation which shows a mind eager for information. His rapid manner of talking, which at first appears affected, is quite natural to him, and gives an appearance of sincerity to what he says, because it does not look premeditated. He is fond of reading, and his studies are principally restricted to the historians of his country, of which the Shah Amah of Ferdousi is his favourite. He expresses great anxiety to be informed about the different states of Europe; and has got together a large collection of English books, which he frequently looks at without understanding them, and is always devising plans for getting them translated, but hitherto without success. A copy of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* was given to him; and, it is related that, in his wish to find out a piece of mechanism, which he was desirous to have made, he had the patience to turn over all the volumes of that work, until he came to what he wanted. He has also got a collection of maps from the printing-press at Constantinople, which he has studied, and which has rendered him about the best geographer in his country.

AUDIENCE OF ABBAS MIRZA.

After having been introduced with the usual forms, I was desired to seat myself on the felt carpet (*nummud*) opposite to the prince. He himself was seated, tailor-like, at one extremity of the tent, with his cap on one side, leaning forwards in a playful manner over his knees. On one side of him was an ink-stand and some papers, and at the other extremity of the tent was Hyder Ali Khan, one of his favourite officers. After saying some obliging things, he asked me for the letters of which I was the bearer, which I then delivered to him. One of them contained a sketch of the treaty recently concluded between Russia and Turkey, over which he pondered with considerable attention for a long while, without opening his lips. He then made a sign to Hyder Ali Khan to withdraw, and requiring me to come close to him, he made some very shrewd remarks upon

the different articles of the treaty, shewing himself a perfect master of the nature of the political relations that existed between those two states. Among the letters of which I was the bearer was that of Mr. Gordon from Teflis, to the contents of which he paid the most minute attention; and, when I informed him that, by the desire of the Russian general, Mr. Gordon was about returning to us, through Karabagh, by Ganja and Shisheh, in order to inspect the Russian possessions in that part of the country, the prince exclaimed, "Ah, I know those wiles of old; they will make Mr. Gordon believe that they are very strong, when it is all the contrary. On the one day they will march a set of men before him; and on the next, changing their dress, they will exhibit the very same set as fresh troops newly arrived." He finished this part of the conference by saying, that he would think upon what was now to be done, that he would write to the ambassador, and that at night he would send for me again to tell me what was his determination. He then conversed upon indifferent subjects; and when I told him of our agreeable sensations upon beholding his troop of horse-artillery at Ojan, and that we felt ourselves in some measure transported to England, his eyes glistened with the most lively pleasure, and he said, "Well, that is just what Mirza Abul Hassan Khan has told me. He assured me, that on entering Aderbigian he thought himself again in England; and that, if the Persians want to see what England is, they have only to look at the country over which I govern."

NOISES OF A PERSIAN CITY.

The noises that issued from the adjoining houses were quite characteristic of Persian domestic life. In my immediate vicinity lived an old morose Persian, who daily quarrelled with his women; and I could distinguish the voice of one particular female, whose answers, made in a taunting and querulous tone, did not fail to throw him into passions so violent, that they generally terminated in blows, the noise of which, accompanied by corresponding lamentation, I could distinctly hear.

Then, bordering on the garden wall, scarce twenty yards from where I usually sat, was a society of women, five or six in number, the wives and slaves of a Mussulman, who were either dissolved in tears, sobbing aloud like children, or entranced in the most indecent and outrageous merriment. Sometimes they

sang in the loudest tone, accompanied by a tambourine; and then they quarrelled amongst themselves, using every now and then expressions of no ordinary indelicacy. Accident once gave me a view into their yard, where I saw three women surrounded by children, seated on the bare stones, smoking the *kaleoon*. They wore a large black silk handkerchief round their heads, a shift which descended as low as the middle, a pair of loose trowsers, and green high-heeled slippers; and this, I believe, may be considered as a sketch of every Persian woman's dress within the harem, in hot weather.

But there are noises peculiar to every city and country; and none are more distinct and characteristic than those in Persia. First, at the dawn of day, the *muezzins* are heard in a great variety of tones, calling the people to prayers from the tops of the mosques; these are mixed with the sounds of cow-horns, blown by the keepers of the *hummums*, to inform the women, who bathe before the men, that the baths are heated, and ready for their reception. The cow-horns set all the dogs in the city howling in a frightful manner. The asses of the town generally beginning to bray about the same time, are answered by all the asses in the neighbourhood; a thousand cocks then intrude their shrill voices, which, with the other subsidiary noises of persons calling to each other, knocking at doors, cries of children, complete a din very unusual to the ears of an European. In the summer season, as the operations of domestic life are mostly performed in the open air, every noise is heard. At night, all sleep on the tops of their houses, their beds being spread upon their terraces, without any other covering over their heads than the vault of heaven. The poor seldom have a screen to keep them from the gaze of passengers; and, as we generally rode out on horseback at a very early hour, we perceived, on the tops of the houses, people either still in bed, or just getting up, and certainly no sight was ever stranger. The women appeared to be always up the first, whilst the men were frequently seen lounging in bed long after the sun was risen. This universal custom of sleeping on the house-top speaks much in favour of the climate of Persia; and indeed we found that our repose in the open air was much more refreshing than in the confinement of a room.

THE PRINCE ROYAL.

The Ambassador, attended by his

suite, visited the Prince two days after his arrival; and we were, as usual, highly delighted with the reception he gave us, with his amiable manners, and his lively conversation. In the rapid manner peculiar to him, he skimmed over a variety of subjects with a humour and vivacity that would be lost in the recital, particularly when rendered into English. He first talked of the Uzbek Tartars; and we had agreed with him in the facility of conquering them, possessed as Persia now was of good artillery, when he exclaimed, "Ah! it would indeed be an easy matter! What do they know of guns, or manoeuvres, and of firing ten times in a minute? I recollect the time when we Persians were as bad as they. My father, the Shah, once besieged a fort, and had with him one gun, with only three balls; and even this was reckoned extraordinary. He fired off two of the balls at the fort, and then summoned it to surrender. The besieged, who knew that he had only one ball left, sent him this answer, 'For God's sake fire off your other ball at us, and then we shall be free of you altogether.'" He continued to say, "The Uzbeks, not long since, had a famous fellow amongst them, called Beg Jan, who made them believe that he was a saint; and he excited them to take forts, and to oppose any numbers of the enemy, by promising paradise as a reward. They went with alacrity whithersoever he directed them, and met their death with constancy. When Beg Jan was one day describing the delights of paradise, an Uzbek asked him, 'Is there any *chappow* (plunder) in paradise?' To which the other said, 'No.' 'Ah then,' said he, 'paradise won't do for me.'"

The Prince then discoursed about his own government of Aderbigian, and of the attempts he had made to ameliorate it. "The first step," said he, "towards the establishment of a good government, is to give protection to the peasant; and to that effect I have abolished the custom of selling governments to the highest bidder, which is the common mode throughout the rest of Persia. You would scarcely believe the difficulty I have had in doing this. As, for instance, I give a man ten and twelve thousand tomanas a year, and appoint him the Governor of (we will say) the district of Maragha. I define what each peasant is to pay to the government, and fix the sum of the annual tribute which my officer is to levy, and beyond which he is ordered not to exact

exact a *dinar*. Such is the Persian character, that he would rather be permitted to beat and tyrannise over the *Rayat*, to get his salary in the best manner he was able, than to receive the sure and regular stipend which I would give him, without the trouble attendant on extortion and punishment. He is surrounded by sycophants, who taunt him and say, 'What sort of a governor are you, who cannot beat these animals of *Rayats*? Nobody cares for you; you are the *Mastof's* (the civil officer's) governor.' In fact, a Persian would rather have power than money; or, in truth, he looks upon the former as synonymous with the latter."

MR. BROWN, THE AFRICAN TRAVELLER.

On reaching Tabriz, we found Mr. Brown, the African traveller, waiting our arrival. He had recently arrived from Smyrna, having taken a direct route through Asia Minor to Tocat, whence he came by Arze, Roun, and Erivan. His plan was to endeavour to make his way into Tartary, to see Balkh and Samarcand, if possible, and then to travel to India. We had already conversed with the Persian ministers upon the nature of such an undertaking, and they were decidedly of opinion that it was impossible. Indeed the grand vizier, Mirza Sheffea, said that he would not give ten *shahis* for the man's head who went on a journey to Balkh; consequently, we did all in our power to dissuade Mr. Brown from pursuing his object; but, as he persisted, the ambassador immediately made his intentions known to the Persian ministers, who promised him every assistance. A mehmendar was to conduct him to Meshed; a firman from the king was to be issued to Mahomed Veli Mirza, prince governor of that city and of Khorassan, ordering that he should be protected, and forwarded onwards to wherever the Persian jurisdiction extended. He was dressed as a Turk, and his disguise was complete. Knowing how much that nation is hated by the Persians, we entreated him not to travel in that dress, but to adopt either the English or the Persian; but, naturally enough, he conceived himself in safety until he should have reached Teheran, and he deferred making the exchange until then. He departed from Tabriz, escorted by two Persian servants whom he had hired for the journey, and went to the king's camp at Ojan to meet his mehmendar, and to get his firman and letters. He was there

detained several days, and, tired by the delay, he set off without his mehmendar, who was to overtake him on the road. He had scarcely been gone a week, when one of his servants returned, saying that his master had been robbed and murdered. Upon investigation we learnt that, on the fourth day's march from the camp, after having crossed the Kizzil Ozan River, he had been attacked by a party of ten Persian horsemen, who seized him and his servants, blindfolded them, tied their hands behind their backs, and carried them to a lonely valley at some distance from the high road. In the evening they released the servants, but detained Mr. Brown, and, placing him on horseback behind one of the robbers, carried him still farther away. They gave up his gun, pistols, clothes, box of books, astronomical instruments, &c. which were brought back to us by the servants; but took from him 200 tomauns in gold.

The ambassador, immediately upon hearing of this melancholy occurrence, informed the Persian government of what had happened, demanding that an active search should be made for the robbers. He also sent persons to the spot, in order to endeavour to trace their steps; but all that could be found were remains of clothes, near the Kizzil Ozan, which made us suppose that the murder was perpetrated near its banks, and the body thrown into the river. Suspicions fell upon many persons, the strongest upon the Shahisevends, a tribe who inhabit the country bordering upon the Kizzil Ozan; but we found it so difficult to fix the crime upon any particular set of men, without incurring the evil of making punishment fall upon the innocent, that our researches for the offenders were, after all, attended with no success.

RUSSIAN AND PERSIAN BOUNDARIES.

By the late treaty, the line of boundaries between the two empires commences from the beginning of the plain of Adineh Bazar, and runs direct through the Sahara, or Desert of Moghan, to the west of Yediboluk on the river Araxes, and then on the uppermost northern bank of that river, until its junction at the Kapanek chai, at the back of the hill of Megri. From the right bank of the Kapanek chai, the boundaries of Karabagh and Nakhjuwan are marked by a line drawn on the summits of the mountains of Pembek and Aligez. The line then continues from the top of the Pembek mountains to the angle of the boundary of Shuragil,

gil, then over the snowy mountains, and, passing through Aked, runs along the limits of Shuragil and between the village of Misteri, until it reaches the river Arpachai.

MOUNT ARARAT.

As we crossed the plain from Abbasa-bad to Nakhjuwan, we had a most splendid view of Mount Ararat. Nothing can be more beautiful than its shape,—more awful than its height. All the surrounding mountains sink into insignificance when compared to it. It is perfect in all its parts, no hard rugged feature, no unnatural prominences, every thing is in harmony, and all combines to render it one of the sublimest objects in nature. Spreading originally from an immense base, the slope towards its summit is easy and gradual, until it reaches the region of snows, when it becomes more abrupt. As a foil to this stupendous work, a smaller hill rises from the same base near the original mass, similar to it in shape and proportions, and, in any other situation, entitled of itself to rank amongst the high mountains. No one since the flood seems to have been on its summit, for the rapid ascent of its snowy top would appear to render such an attempt impossible. Of this we may be certain, that no man in modern times has ascended it, for when such an adventurous and persevering traveller as Tournefort failed, it is not likely that any of the timid, superstitious inhabitants of these countries should have succeeded. We were informed that people have reached the top of the small Ararat (or, as it is called here, *Cuchuk Agri dagh*); but, as all the account which they brought back was a tale (like that told of Savalan), about a frozen man and a cold fountain, we must be permitted to disbelieve every report on the subject which we have hitherto heard from the natives.

CHRISTIAN RELIC AND SUPERSTITION.

Then with great ceremony they exhibited before us some of the most precious relics belonging to the church. The first and principal one was said to be the head of the very spear with which the Roman soldier pierced the side of our Saviour. As soon as it was brought forth, and laid on the altar, all the Armenians made a profound inclination of the head. It was about a foot in length. This relick, which is looked upon now as the first in their possession, and which is said, besides other miracles, to have the power of stopping the progress of the plague, appears to be a

new acquisition, for it is not mentioned amongst those which Chardin saw.* The arm of St. Gregory, and the scalp of St. Repsime, are still there, but so incased in gold and ornaments, that neither of them can be distinctly seen.

The day we remained with the patriarch, we had an instance of the extent of Armenian superstition. They hold it for certain, that the head of the sacred spear, which is kept as a relick in the church, has, amongst its many virtues, the power of stopping the progress of the plague. This terrible disorder had broken out with violence at Teflis, and was making great havock amongst the inhabitants. A deputation was in consequence sent to the patriarch, requesting the loan of the spear-head, in order that the evil might meet with a speedy termination. We happened to be present when the deputation arrived. The patriarch received it in great form, and long consultations were held, whether the sacred instrument should be permitted to go out of the walls of Etchmiatzin or not. At length it was determined that it should proceed to perform its holy office, and, after a multitude of ceremonies, such as chauntings, prostrations, kissings, and ringing of bells, it was delivered over to the deputation, who forthwith returned to Teflis. We afterwards learnt, that it was most devoutly believed by some at Teflis, that, as soon as the spear-head had entered the city through one gate, the plague, in the shape of a cow with a human head, had darted out through another, and that then the disorder instantly ceased.

PUNISHMENT OF A REBEL CHIEF.

Mahomed Zemaun Khan was carried before the King. When he had reached the camp, the King ordered Mahomed Khan, Chief of his camel artillery, to put a mock crown upon the rebel's head, *bazubends* or armlets on his arms, a sword by his side; to mount him upon an ass with his face towards the tail, and the tail in his hand; then to parade him throughout the camp, and to exclaim, "This is he who wanted to be the King!" After this was over, and the people had mocked and insulted him, he was led before the King, who called for the Looties and ordered them to turn him into ridicule, by making him

* It formerly was kept in the church of Keghort, built, as it is said, on purpose for its reception; but being abandoned, the spear-head was removed to Etchmiatzin.—See *Tavernier's Travels*.

dance and make anticks against his will. He then ordered that whosoever chose might spit in his face. After this he received the bastinado on the soles of his feet, which was administered by the chiefs of the Cajar Tribe, and some time after he had his eyes put out.

The strong coincidence between these details and the most awfully affecting part of our own Scripture History, is a striking illustration of the permanence of Eastern manners.

RELIGION.

Aga Khan was a young man of family, and one of the King's *gholam peish khed-mets*, or chamberlains. Although bigoted to an excess, and avowedly inimical to every religion but his own, yet he never permitted his feelings to get the better of politeness. He constantly brought on discussions upon religious points, and, although our arguments were carried on without reserve, yet he never lost his temper. His family are Seyids, the descendants of Ali; and with that ancestry he feels that a greater degree of sanctity is required of him than of others; consequently he was very rigid in all the exterior rites of his religion. He never failed in his five prayers daily; in the coldest mornings of our March, he stopped as the sun rose near a running stream, called his servants about him, pulled off his boots and stockings, washed his hands, feet, &c. spread his carpet, and prayed. He constantly made exclamations of *Ya ali! oh ali! Ya allah! oh God!—Allah allah il allah!* there is no God but one God, &c.; and it was only during the fast of the Ramazan that he seemed impatient of any inconvenience in his religion. At every place where he found a Mollah he held long consultations with him upon the nature of his duties.—Whether, during the Ramazan, he really could, without sin, eat on the days of travel? Whether remaining three days successively at one place he was obliged to enter upon his *Rouzeh* or fast? Whenever he came to visit us, he was evidently under restraint, being from civility obliged to drink our coffee and take our refreshments. Sitting on an English sofa, he looked fearful lest he might imbibe some contamination, and when he thought nobody saw him, he blew over each of his shoulders, as if to keep off the uncleanness of infidels from him. Every good mussulman being enjoined to make as many converts as possible, Aga Khan never failed to endeavour to prove the excellence of the religion of Mahomed over every other; but, when

the arguments that he urged were disputed, and the falsity of their foundation pointed out, he was silent and in extreme surprise to find that any thing could be said against that which he had ever been accustomed to esteem as the absolute and exclusive truth. In regard to miracles, he possessed a degree of credulity greater than can be conceived. When we talked of the proofs which our Saviour gave of his divine mission, and of the miracles which he performed, such as causing the blind man to see, the lame to walk, the dumb to speak, &c. he exclaimed, "What are these miracles compared to those of our Prophet? Such as those which you mention are performed by our holy men at the present day, and there is now a Seyid at Meshed, who only a few months ago restored sight to a girl born blind; but did Jesus ever perform a miracle equal to Mahomed, who with his finger cut the moon in two?"

ENTRY OF THE KING INTO TEHERAN.

As in ancient times, almost the whole of the male population of the city was ordered to meet the king, and very early in the morning of the day of the entry, the environs on the road to Khorassan were covered with people. We were summoned by the prime minister in person, who was so anxious that we should be at our post at the earliest moment, that he came almost unattended to us; and, having marshalled our procession, he led the way, and served us as a guide through the streets and bazars. The activity and vivacity of this old man are as amiable as they are extraordinary at his advanced age. We went in our smartest uniforms, and on our most lively horses; the body-guard in their handsome Indian dresses created a great clang; and, together with the numerous servants and attendants attached to the mission, we added greatly to the general bustle. The old vizier at our head, apparently all the time in great trepidation lest he should be too late, put out his horse at the full trot, and at this rate we dashed through the great crowd of horse and foot passengers who had already thronged the road. When we had travelled about two miles from the town, we were placed at our post by some of the officers of Hossein Ali Mirza, one of the princes, governor of Teheran, when we dismounted, smoked, and seated ourselves on the ground, until his Majesty should appear. In the mean time, the track of his route was distinguishable over the mountains and along the plain, by a long line of dust, created by his procession. His baggage and equipages were

were continually passing, until we heard the *Zamburek* or camel-artillery that at intervals fired volleys in advance. As they approached, the order of procession became more distinct. His more immediate arrival was marked by the drums and trumpets of his *Nokara*, the performers of which were mounted on gaudy-dressed camels; then a long row of *shatirs*, then the king, totally insulated, a speck in the plain; behind him the princes his sons, with their suites, then the courtiers and the officers of *Defter Khoneh*, (as we might say, the chief of the public offices,) and the whole was filled up by an immense *tip*, or body of cavalry. As the king drew near, Mirza Sheffea marshalled us about 100 yards from the road-side, and, when his Majesty beckoned to us, we went forwards in hasty strides, which the old vizier was anxious we should increase into a trot, it being the etiquette on these occasions, as we afterwards learnt, to run: our conductor himself was running as fast as he could. The king, having given us his *Khosh Amedee*, ordered us to mount our horses, and then requested me to ride near him; whilst Mirza Sheffea dropt in the rear of the king about twenty paces, where was also Hossein Khan Mervi. He had the condescension to converse very familiarly, and his remarks and manners are ever those of a highly-polished man: he seemed also anxious to give us a public mark of his attention; for, as we rode along, at two different intervals, he was presented with bowls filled with sugar-candy, of which he first took a piece himself, and then ordered that it should be given to me, and to the gentlemen of the mission and our attendants. This among the Persians is esteemed a very high mark of favour; and, whilst we could not refrain from smiling at the strange custom that embarrassed our hands with large pieces of sugar-candy on horseback, there was scarcely a Persian around us that would not willingly have given his beard for a similar distinction.

During all this time I had an opportunity of observing the king, and remarking the different stages of the procession. His Majesty was gaily dressed in a white close vest, embroidered with spangles. His sword, his dagger, and other ornaments, were entirely inlaid with precious stones. The bridle, crupper, breast-plate, were all either rubies, diamonds, or emeralds, whilst a long thick tassel of pearls was suspended under the horse's throat by a *cordon* that went round his

neck. At different intervals, he called for his *Kalioun*, (the water-pipe,) which was brought to him by his *Shatir Bashi*, or head of the running footmen, from which he took not more than one whiff, which was afterwards emitted in one long white stream of smoke, which he managed to conduct over his beard as a perfume. He was dignified in all he did, and seemed very attentive to all that was going on. As he approached the town, long rows of well-dressed men at some distance from the road made low bows, and whenever he called one near to him he came running with great eagerness, and received whatever he had to say with the greatest devotedness. He was then received by a corps of *Mollahs*, and *Peishnamèz* (priests), who chaunted forth the *Khotbeh** with all their might. Then oxen and sheep in great numbers were sacrificed just as he passed, and their heads thrown under his horse's feet. Many glass vases, filled with sugar, were broken before him, and their contents strewed on his road. Every where dervishes were making loud exclamations for his prosperity; whilst a band of wrestlers and dancers were twirling about their *mils* (clubs), and performing all sorts of antics to the sound of the copper drums of *Looties*. Nothing could be more striking than the variety of the scene that surrounded the king. Amongst the crowd I perceived the whole of the Armenians, headed by their clergy bearing crosses, painted banners, the Gospel, and long candles. They all began to chaunt psalms as His Majesty drew near; and their zeal was only surpassed by that of the Jews, who also had collected themselves into a body, conducted by their rabbis, who raised on high a carved representation on wood of the tabernacle, and made the most outrageous cries of devotion, accompanied by the most extravagant gestures of humiliation, determined that they at least should not pass unnoticed by the monarch. On coming close to the walls of the city, the crowd of horsemen and people increased to an extraordinary degree, and, where they were confined in some places by the walls of gardens, became quite stationary. In all the bustle I perceived the king constantly looking at a watch carried by *Shatir Ba-hi*, anxious that he should

* This is an oration delivered every Friday, after the forenoon service, in the principal mosques, in which the Mahomedans praise God, bless Manomet and his descendants, and pray for the king.

enter the gates exactly at the time prescribed by the astrologers.

THE AUTHOR'S DEPARTURE.

The 6th of October was at length fixed for my departure, and the king was pleased to grant my audience of leave on the day preceding. Although his Majesty in the most flattering terms expressed his sorrow at my departure, yet I must own that I never felt so much happiness as on the morning when I made my exit from the gates of Teheran. My sensations were exactly those expressed by Tournefort, when he determined to return to France.* Although in the heart of Persia, yet I had scarcely quitted Teheran, before it seemed that I could perceive the dome of St. Paul's church, and the spires of London. In Persia there is nothing to attach the heart—the people (with some exceptions) are false, the soil is dreary, and disease is in the climate. At a distance from civilized life, seldom hearing from our country and friends, without the resources of society, the life we led was little better than a state of exile. My regrets, which were confined to parting from those who had been my companions, were heightened by the thought that I left them to pursue that life which had been so irksome to myself.

THE PERSIAN AMBASSADOR IN ENGLAND.

His first surprise on reaching England, was at the caravanserais, for so, though no contrast can be greater, he called our hotels. We were lodged in a gay apartment at Plymouth, richly ornamented with looking-glasses, which are so esteemed in Persia that they are held to be fitting for royal apartments only: and our dinners were served up with such quantities of plate, and of glass ware, as brought forth repeated expressions of surprise every time he was told that they were the common appendages of our caravanserais. The good folks of the inn, who, like most people in England, look upon it as a matter of course that nothing can be too hot for Asiatics, so loaded the ambassador's bed with warm covering, that he had scarcely been in bed an hour, before he was obliged to get out of it.

One of the public coaches was hired to convey his servants to London; and when four of them had got inside, having seated themselves cross-legged, they would not allow that there could be room for more, although the coach was calculated to take six. They armed

themselves from head to foot with pistols, swords, and each a musket in his hand, as if they were about to make a journey in their own country; and thus encumbered, notwithstanding every assurance that nothing could happen to them, they got into the coach. His excellency himself greatly enjoyed the novelty of a carriage, and was delighted at the speed with which we travelled, particularly at night, when he perceived no diminution of it, although he was surprised that all this was done without a guide.

He who had witnessed the manner in which our ambassadors had been received in Persia, particularly the *levée en masse* of the inhabitants who were sent out to meet him at every place where he stopt, was surprised to see the little notice that he himself in the same situation in England had attracted, and the total independence of all ranks of people.

Although he found a fine house and a splendid establishment ready to receive him in London, and although a fine collation was laid out upon the morning of his arrival, nothing could revive his spirits; so much had he been disappointed at the mode of his reception.

He had formed his ideas of our court from what he recollected of his own, where the king's person is held so sacred, that few have the privilege of approaching it. He had a private audience at the queen's house, and, from the manner in which he expressed himself after it was over, it appeared that the respect which he had hitherto felt towards our monarch was diminished. There are many ceremonies exacted upon approaching the Shah of Persia. Here the Persian entered at once into the same room where His Majesty was standing. He made no inclination of the body, he did not even take his shoes off; and, what is more, he put his credentials into his Majesty's own hands. He said, that he had expected to have seen our king seated on a throne at a distance, and that he could not have approached within many paces of him: his surprise then may be conceived, when, on entering a small room, he was taken to a person whom he took to be a *capijee* or porter, and was informed that this was the King of England.

He arrived in London in the month of November, and the gloom of the weather had a visible effect upon his health and spirits. For two months he never saw the sun, and it was fully believed by his suite, that they had got into regions beyond its influence; when one day

4 L

several

* Tournefort's Travels, 21st Letter.
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several of them rushed into him with great joy to announce that they had just seen it, and that if he made haste he might perhaps see it also.

Of some things, it would be impossible from mere description to give any just idea. Such was an opera or a play to a Persian. The first night he went to the opera, evidently the impression of surprise which he received on entering his box was very strong, although his pride made him conceal it. His servants had been sent to the gallery, and upon going up to hear what was their conversation, they were found wrangling amongst themselves, whether or no the figures that they saw upon the stage were real men and women or automations.

When it is known that a Persian *mejlis* or assembly is composed of people seated in a formal row on the ground, with their backs against the wall, some idea may be had of the Persian ambassador's surprise upon entering an English rout.

On his being taken to hear a debate at the House of Commons, he immediately sided with a young orator, who gained him over by his earnest manner and the vehemence of his action; and at the House of Lords, the great object of his remark was the lord chancellor, whose enormous wig, which he compared to a sheep-skin, awoke all his curiosity. There was considerable pleasure in observing his emotion when he was taken to St Paul's cathedral, on the anniversary of the charity children, where he acquired more real esteem for the institutions and the national character of England than he did from any other sight, for he frequently after referred to his feelings on that occasion.

TRAVELS IN CANADA,

AND

THE UNITED STATES,

In 1816 and 1817.

BY LIEUT. FRANCIS HALL.

14th Light Dragoons, H.P.

Octavo.—Pp. 543.— s. boards.

[Our information about the modern state of North America is so scanty, or so coloured, that we hail the appearance of of a volume written by an observer who appears to write under no bias of party or national prejudice. The style of the volume is often colloquial, incorrect, and even vulgar; but the facts are new and valuable. The account of the new settlements on the lakes, and of the ve-

nerable Jefferson, cannot fail to be read with singular interest. As a general view of Canada and the United States, this volume forms an excellent companion to the valuable notes of Mr. Birbeck.]

NANTUCKET.

I FELT little concern about Nantucket, at this time, except to keep at a respectful distance from it; but I have since met with some interesting particulars relative to this inglorious little island. Its inhabitants are reckoned at 5000, some of whom are worth 20,000*l.* each. It contains 23,000 acres of land, and was originally possessed by the Nantucks, an Indian tribe, some of whom still remain on it, having peaceably incorporated with the Europeans, and joined in their occupations. The soil was originally a barren sand, but the industry of the inhabitants has made it capable of pasturing large flocks of sheep, which constituted, in the infancy of the settlement, a common stock; but their chief employment is whaleing, at which they are equally diligent and daring; doubling Cape Horn in pursuit of their game. The profits of this trade afford them both the necessaries and comforts of life. The luxuries are forbidden both by their character and religion, which is unmixed Presbyterianism. The only recreation they used to allow themselves, was driving in parties to a little spot, which they had rescued from barrenness, and converted into a kind of public garden. The traveller, from whom I borrow this account, gives a lively picture of their hospitality, and of the simplicity of their manners, which supersedes the necessity of those inventions and restraints so inefficient in more polished societies. The whole community affords an admirable instance of what human industry will effect, when left to the unshackled direction of its own exertions. They have, particularly the women, an odd habit of taking a small quantity of opium every morning. It is difficult to divine whence they have imported this unwholesome luxury.* The only books this traveller found in the island, except the bible, were Hudibras and Josephus; many of the inhabitants could repeat lines of the former, without having much notion to what they referred. Martha's vineyard is a settlement of much the

* I have since heard it remarked, that this practice is very general in America.
same

same kind as Nantucket. It derives its name from that part of it which was originally the portion of the first settler's daughter. They formerly constituted part of the State of New York, but now of Massachusetts.

NEW YORK.

New York is built on the tongue of land, at the point of which the Hudson and East Rivers effect their junction. The principal street (Broadway) runs along the ridge, and terminates in a small parade, planted with trees, designed originally for a battery.

From Broadway, streets diverge irregularly to either river, and terminate in extensive warehouses and quays, constantly crowded. The houses are generally good, frequently elegant, but it requires American eyes to discover that Broadway competes with the finest streets of London or Paris. New York is reckoned to contain at present about 100,000 inhabitants, and is spreading rapidly northward. I was told that 2000 houses were contracted for, to be built in the ensuing year. There are fifty churches, or chapels, of different sects; a proof that a national church is not indispensable, for the maintenance of religion.

The Town Hall is an elegant building of white marble, standing at right angles to Broadway. The plot of ground in front of it is railed round and planted. The interior is well arranged for the purposes of business. The state rooms of the mayor and corporation are ornamented with portraits of several of the governors of New York, and whole lengths of the officers most distinguished during the late war.

The sessions court was sitting during my visit, and I went in. My first impression arose from the truly republican plainness of justice, stripped of all "pomp and circumstance," flowing wigs, ermine, and silk gowns. Both the judges and counsellors were in the dress of private gentlemen, the latter hardly to be distinguished from the spectators, who, without much ceremony, crowded round the tribunal.

I spent an evening at the theatre. It is a shabby building without, and poorly lighted and decorated within. The play was Columbus, a wretched hash of different plays and stories, miserably acted. The audience, like that of a Portsmouth theatre, consisted almost entirely of men. — I saw nothing resembling a lady in the house, and but few females. The Americans are generally considered to have

little taste for the drama; or for music, beyond what is necessary for a dance; dancing being in New York, as in most parts of the world, the favourite amusement of the ladies; they dance cotillions, because they fancy they excel in French dances, and despise country dances for the same reason. The young men have the character of being dissipated, living much apart from their families in boarding houses. Good dinners are in high esteem in the upper commercial circles, and I had occasion to bear witness both to the skill of their cooks, and the hospitality of the entertainers.

THE STEAM FRIGATE.

I was naturally curious to visit the famous steam frigate, or floating battery, built for the defence of the harbour; this favour I obtained through Dr. Mitchell, the great philosopher of New York.

He is a man of considerable mechanical science, and mentioned several of his plans for the improvement of the steam frigate, in constructing which I believe he bore a principal part. One plan was to obviate the intolerable heat in the neighbourhood of the engines, by introducing fresh air through tubes near the surface of the water, bent upwards to prevent its entering. Another was to discharge from the engine a force of water sufficient to overwhelm any boarding boat, or drench the gun deck of any ship alongside. The length of the frigate is 150 feet; breadth of beam 50; and thickness of sides four feet. She works either way, and is said to be sufficiently manageable, and well calculated for harbour defence.

STEAM BOAT.

I embarked on the 9th of March, in the Paragon steam packet, from New York to Albany. The winter had been less severe than usual, which induced the captain to attempt making his way up the Hudson earlier than is customary. These steam boats are capable of accommodating from 200 to 300 passengers; they are about 120 feet in length, and as elegant in their construction as the awkward-looking machinery in the centre will permit. There are two cabins, one for the ladies, into which no gentleman is admitted without the concurrence of the whole company. The interior arrangements, on the whole, resemble those of our best packets. I was not without apprehension, that a dinner in such a situation, for above 150 persons, would very much resemble the scramble of a mob; I was however agreeably

agreeably surprised by a dinner handsomely served, very good attendance, and a general attention to quiet and decorum: "Truly, thought I, these republicans are not so very barbarous." Indeed when the cabin was lighted up for tea and sandwiches in the evening, it more resembled a ball-room supper, than, as might have been expected, a stage-coach meal. The charge, including board, from New York to Albany, 160 miles, is seven dollars.

We started under the auspices of a bright frosty morning: The first few minutes were naturally spent by me in examining the machinery, by means of which our huge leviathan, with such evident ease, won her way against the opposing current: but more interesting objects are breaking fast on the view; on our right are the sloping sides of New York Island, studded with villas, over a soil from which the hand of cultivation has long since rooted its woodland glories, substituting the more varied decorations of park and shrubbery, intersected with brown stubbles and meadows; while on our left, the bold features of nature rise, as in days of yore, unimpaired, unchangeable; grey cliffs, like aged battlements, tower perpendicularly from the water's edge to the height of several hundred feet. Hickory, dwarf oak, and stunted cedars, twist fantastically within their crevices, and deepen the shadows of each glen into which they occasionally recede; huge masses of disjointed rocks are scattered at intervals below; here the sand has collected sufficiently to afford space for the woodman's hut, but the narrow waterfall, which in summer turns his saw-mill, is now a mighty icicle glittering to the morning sun; here and there a scarcely perceptible track conducts to the rude wharf, from which the weather-worn lugger receives her load of timber for the consumption of the city.

A VILLAGE.

Poughkeepsie was the first country-town, or rather village, I had seen; and as the features of all are much alike, it shall be described for a specimen. Houses of wood, roofed with shingles, neatly painted, with generally from four to six sash windows on each floor, two stories high, and a broad viranda, resting on neat wooden pillars, along the whole of the front: such is the common style of house-building through the whole state: it unites to cleanly neatness a degree of elegance, confined in England to the cottage *ornée*; but here common to

all houses; very few sink to a meaner fashion: this seems strange to the eye accustomed to a hundred wretched hovels for one habitation of graceful comfort; but poverty has not yet wandered beyond the limits of great towns in America; in the country every man is a land-owner, and has competence within his grasp; "*O fortunatos nimium sua si bona norint.*" The whole of this beautiful passage may be well applied to American farmers. To them the earth is "most just," for they are industrious and enterprising, and they have not yet discovered the necessity of yielding nineteen parts of their earnings to their government, to take care of the remaining twentieth. At Poughkeepsie, as in almost all American towns, are two or three large inns, in which dinner is provided at a certain hour, for all travellers *en masse*; nor is it an easy matter any where to procure a separate meal; indeed privacy, either in eating, sleeping, conversation, or government, seems quite unknown, and unknowable to the Americans, to whom it appears, whether political or domestic, a most unnatural as well as unreasonable desire, which only Englishmen are plagued with.

There is no want of churches, either here or in any other village of this state, but they are all built of the same perishable materials. Mr. Jefferson, in his "Notes on Virginia," objects to this method of building, which adds nothing to the riches of the state; but as long as wood continues plentiful and labour dear, houses will be built in the readiest and cheapest manner.

THE INNS.

The inn-keepers of America, are, in most villages, what we vulgarly call, "topping men," field-officers of militia, with good farms attached to their taverns, so that they are apt to think, what, perhaps in a newly settled country, is not very wide of the truth, that travellers rather receive, than confer a favour by being accommodated at their houses. They always gave us plentiful fare, particularly at breakfast, where veal-cutlets, sweetmeats, cheese, eggs, and ham, were most liberally set before us. Dinner is little more than a repetition of breakfast, with spirits instead of coffee. I never heard wine called for; the common drink is a small cyder; rum, whiskey, and brandy, are placed on the table, and the use of them left to the discretion of the company, who seem rarely to abuse the privilege. Tea is a meal of the same solid construction with breakfast,

fast, answering also for supper. The daughters of the host officiate at tea and breakfast, and generally wait at dinner. Their behaviour is reserved in the extreme, but it enables them to serve as domestics, without losing their rank of equality with those on whom they attend. To judge from the books I frequently found lying about, they are well educated; the landlord of an inn at Waterford was very particular in inquiring of a gentleman who was with me, for the most accomplished schoolmistress of New York, with whom to place his daughter; the same man, after shrewdly commenting on the conduct of some of the first political characters of the country, summed up his eulogium on his favourite, by saying, "I make no objection to his lying and intrigues, for all politicians will do the same."

An English traveller is frequently surprised to find the highest magistrates and officers of the nation travelling by the same conveyances, sitting down at the same table, and joining in conversation with the meanest of the people; borrowing from his own prejudices of rank, he is apt to fancy all the great world amusing themselves in masquerade. I entered, casually, into conversation, on board the steam-boat, with a man whose appearance seemed to denote something betwixt the shop-keeper and farmer, though his conversation marked him superior to both.

NEW SETTLEMENTS.

The pale of civilized life widens daily, and plainly intimates to the indignant and retiring Indian, that it will finally know no limit but the Pacific. Cultivators have begun to discover the superiority of the soil, westward of the Alleghany Ridges: the tide of emigration is accordingly turned to the neighbourhood of the Ohio. Sixteen thousand waggons, I was told, were counted last year passing the toll bridge of Cayuga. Settlements are creeping along the Missouri, and the mouth of the Columbia is already designated to connect the Asiatic with the European commerce of the States. Such is the growth, and such the projects of this transatlantic republic, great in extent of territory, in an active and well-informed population; but above all, in a free government, which not only leaves individual talent unfettered, but calls it into life by all the incitements of ambition most grateful to the human mind.

CANADA.

Nothing could be more Siberian than the aspect of the Canadian frontier: a

narrow road, choaked with snow, led through a wood, in which patches were occasionally cleared, on either side, to admit the construction of a few log-huts, round which a brood of ragged children, a starved pig, and a few half-broken rustic implements, formed an accompaniment more suited to an Irish landscape than to the thriving scenes we had just quitted. The Canadian peasant is still the same unsophisticated animal whom we may suppose to have been imported by Jacques Cartier. The sharp unchangeable lineaments of the French countenance, set off with a blue or red night-cap, over which is drawn the hood of a grey capote, fashioned like a monk's cowl, a red worsted girdle, hair tied in a greasy leathern queue, brown mocassins of undressed hide, and a short pipe in his mouth, give undeniable testimony of the presence of Jean Baptiste. His horse seems to be equally solicitous to shame neither his progenitors nor his owner, by any mixture with a foreign race, but exhibits the same relationship to the horses, as his rider to the subjects of Louis XIII. Now, too, the frequent cross by the road-side, thick-studded with all the implements of crucifixional torture, begins to indicate a catholic country; distorted virgins and ghastly saints decorate each inn-room, while the light spires of the parish church, covered with plates of tin, glitter across the snowy plain.

At La Prairie we crossed the ice to Montreal, whose isolated mountain forms a conspicuous object at the distance of some leagues. From thence to Quebec, the road follows the course of the St. Lawrence, whose banks present a succession of villages, many of them delightfully situated; but all form and feature were absorbed in the snowy deluge, which now deepened every league; add to which, the sleigh-track, by frequently running on the bed of the river, placed us below prospect of every kind. We found the inns neat, and the people attentive; French politesse began to be contrasted with American bluntness.

It was Sunday when we arrived at St. Anne's; mass was just finished, and above an hundred sleighs were rapidly dispersing themselves up the neighbouring heights, and across the bed of the river, to the adjacent villages. The common country sleigh is a clumsy, box-shaped machine, raised at both ends; perhaps not greatly unlike the old heroic car. It holds two persons, with the driver, who stands before them. One horse

horse is commonly sufficient, but two are used in posting, when the leader is attached by cords, tandem-wise, and left to use his own discretion, without the restraint of rein, or impulse of whip. Should, however, the latter stimulus become indispensable, the driver jumps from the sleigh, runs forward, applies his pack-thread lash, and regains his seat without any hazard from extraordinary increase of impetus. The runners of these sleighs are formed of two slips of wood, so low that the shafts collect the snow into a succession of wavy hillocks, properly christened "cahots," for they almost dislocate your limbs five thousand times in a day's journey. An attempt was once made to correct this evil, by prohibiting all low runners, as they are called, from coming within a certain distance of Quebec; meaning, thereby, to force the country people into the use of high runners, in the American fashion. Jean Baptiste, however, sturdily and effectually resisted this heretical innovation, by halting with his produce without the limits, and thus compelling the towns-people to come to him to make their purchases. The markets of Montreal and Quebec exhibit several hundred market sleighs daily. They differ from the pleasure or travelling sleigh in having no sides; that is, they consist merely of a plank bottom, with a kind of railing. Hay and wood are the staple commodities at this season, both of which are immoderately dear, especially at Quebec; even through the States, the common charge for one horse's hay for a night, was a dollar. Provisions are brought to market frozen, in which state they are preserved during winter; cod fish is brought from Boston, a land carriage of 500 miles, and then sells at a reasonable rate, the American commonly speculating on a cargo of smuggled goods back, to make up his profit; a kind of trade extremely brisk betwixt the frontier and Montreal.

The Canadians bear a considerable antipathy to the Americans, whom they denominate, "*Sacres Bastonnais*.*" I believe it to arise principally from religious prejudices; in proof of which, there is a striking anecdote related in the life of Franklin, who made an attempt to bring them over to the revolutionary cause. At this day, even the better informed among them are fully persuaded that the American government is constantly plotting their ruin,

and the destruction of the mighty city of Quebec. I was witness to a curious exemplification of this feeling: a young Canadian, by no means illiterate, informed me one morning, with a very grave face, that a tremendous plot had been discovered—to destroy the whole city by blowing up the powder magazine; that a train had been found ready laid, and no doubt existed of an American's being at the end of it. I took the trouble to trace the source of this report, and found it to originate in an order to mend a broken door belonging to the magazine. A fire never happens in the town (and they happen very often,) but the "*Bastonnais*" are the incendiaries. Petty quarrels betwixt the natives and the Vermontese keep this feeling alive; and the English may well say of it, in the words Sir Lucius O'Trigger, "'Tis a pretty quarrel as it is, and explanation would spoil it."

KINGSTON.

Kingston is singularly happy in its site for naval purposes.—The basis of the soil is a complete quarry of limestone, disposed in horizontal strata, on the surface of the earth, and requiring only to be raised with a lever, to be fit for use. The fort, which was merely a field work during the war, is now finishing with stone, dug from its own foundation; and, having two stout Martello towers, already looks formidable from the lake: it is meant chiefly to defend the navy-yard, which it commands. There are batteries on Point Fréderic; and on the point of the town, which is palisaded, and strengthened with block-houses. It contains some good houses, and stores; a small theatre, built by the military for private theatricals; a large wooden government house, and all the appendages of an extensive military and naval establishment, with as much society as can reasonably be expected, in a town so lately created from the "howling desert." The adjacent country is flat, stony, and barren; a circumstance which perhaps increases the kind of interest peculiar to the place: do you approach it by land, the road lies through a tract of forest, in the midst of which the first rude traces of population are scarcely visible: do you come by water, uncultivated islands, and an uninterrupted line of wooded shore, seem conducting you to the heart of a wilderness, known only to the hunter and his prey: you emerge from a wood, double a head-land, and a fleet of ships lies before you, several of which are as large as any on the ocean: other,

* *Bostonnais*. Inhabitants of Boston.

others, of equal dimensions, are building on the spot, where, a few months since, their frame-timbers were growing. Two sources of astonishment here rise in the mind: first, the magnitude of the resources called into action; secondly, the object which called them forth. Of the first, some idea may be formed, by considering that the St. Lawrence alone cost 300,000*l.* The *Psyche* frigate, sent from England in frame, cost 12,000*l.* in transporting from Quebec. The commissariat disbursements at Kingston, during the war, were estimated at 1000*l.* per diem. The present expence of the naval establishment is about 25,000*l.* per annum: the navy-yard employs 1200 labourers. For the object, on one side, there is America, with "millions on millions" of acres beyond what her population can fill up; on the other, England contending for, and expending her best blood and treasure in defence of, a country, one half of which is little better than a barren waste of snows, and the other, a wild forest, scarcely intersected by a thread of population. This is the "*gros jeu*" of society.

SACKETT'S HARBOUR.

Sackett's harbour has a mean appearance, after Kingston; its situation is low, the harbour small, and fortifications of very indifferent construction, both as to form and materials.. The navy-yard consists merely of a narrow tongue of land, the point of which affords just space sufficient for the construction of one first-rate vessel, with barely room for work-shops, and stores, on the remaining part of it. One of the largest vessels in the world is now on the stocks here; her dimensions are 196 feet keel, by 57 beam; she is built over, to preserve her, and may literally be said to be housed: there is an observatory on the top of the building, commanding an extensive view of the lake, and flat wooded country. About a mile up the river, there is another vessel of equal dimensions, built and housed literally in the woods. The town consists of a long street, in the direction of the river, with a few smaller ones crossing, it at right angles: it covers less ground than Kingston, and has fewer good houses; it has, however, the advantage of a broad flagged footway, while the good people of Kingston, notwithstanding the thousands expended in their town, and the quarries beneath their feet, submit to walk ankle deep in mud, after every shower. Whence this difference? The people of Kingston are not poor ignorant French

Canadians, but substantial active Scotch or English traders. Probably it lies in this, that the Americans are at home, while the English Canadian considers himself as a temporary resident, for the purpose of making a fortune to spend in his native country.

The fortifications at Sackett's are so inconsiderable, that one is equally surprised that the American government should have left their naval depôt so inadequately protected, and that our army should have failed to take it.

The government of the United States not only preaches, but practises economy. The establishments at Sackett's are on the most moderate scale. Two regiments of the line, with a proportion of artillery, for garrison duty, eighty men in the navy-yard, and one boat, the *Lady of the Lake*, in commission: what dreadful havoc would this parsimonious government make at Kingston!*

UTICA.

Utica stands on the right bank of the Mohawk, over which it is approached by a covered wooden bridge, of some length. The appearance of the town is highly prepossessing: the streets are spacious; the houses large and well-built, and the stores (the name given to shops throughout America) as well supplied, and as handsomely fitted up, as those of New York or Philadelphia. There are two hotels, on a large scale; for one of which, the York House, I can answer as being equal in arrangement and accommodation, to any hotel beyond the Atlantic: it is kept by an Englishman from Bath. The number of inhabitants is reckoned at from 3 to 4000; they maintain four churches—one Episcopal, one presbyterian, and two Welch. To judge from the contents of three large book-stores, their literary taste inclines chiefly towards theology and church history.

The town is laid out upon a very extensive scale, of which a small part only is yet completed; but little doubt is entertained by the inhabitants, that ten years will accomplish the whole. Fifteen have not passed since the traveller found here no other trace of habitation than a solitary log-house, built for the occasional reception of merchandise, on its way down the Mohawk.

* There was in commission, when I was there, the *Regent 74*, *Montreal*, and *Star*, sloops of war, and *Charville*, a large new transport, built since the war, capable of transporting the persons and property of almost all the lake population.

The

The overflowing population of New England, fixing its exertions on a new and fertile soil, has, in these few years, effected this change, and goes on, working the miracles of industry and freedom, from the Mohawk to the Missouri.

Utica has great advantages of situation, independent of its soil, being placed nearly at the point of junction betwixt the waters of the Lakes and of the Atlantic. The Mohawk communicates with Wood's Creek, by a canal from Rome, fifteen miles north of Utica; and Wood's Creek falls into the Oneida Lake, which is joined to that of Ontario, by the Oswego river. Should the proposed canal betwixt Buffalo and Rome be cut, it will add very considerably to these advantages, by drawing much of the produce of the Western country in this direction. The expence of this undertaking is variously estimated at from six to 10,000 000 dollars; and the expence of carriage at about six dollars per ton. Commissioners have been appointed to survey the line of communication, and the canal is already traced on paper.

With Utica commences that succession of flourishing villages and settlements, which renders this tract of country the astonishment of travellers. That so large a portion of the soil should, on an average period of less than twenty years, be cleared, brought into cultivation, and have a large population settled on it, is in itself sufficiently surprising; but this feeling is considerably increased, when we consider the character of elegant opulence with which it every where smiles on the eye. Each village teems, like a hive, with activity and enjoyment: the houses, taken in the mass, are on a large scale, for (excepting the few primitive log-huts still surviving) there is scarcely one below the appearance of an opulent London tradesman's country box; nor is their style of building very unlike these, being generally of wood, painted white, with green doors and shutters, and porches, or verandas in front. The face of the country is beautifully varied: on the left of the road, lofty ridges divide the Lake streams from the head waters of the Chenengo, and Oriskany rivers; and again, shooting up towards the north, form the steep banks of the Canserage Creek, and the wooded heights, which embosom Onondago Hollow. The shores of the small lakes are picturesquely formed in the same manner, and a succession of ridges is thus continued, till they terminate towards Lake Ontario, in the Niagara heights,

and mingle on the south, with the spurs of the Alleghanies, round the sources of the Susquehannah. The timber of this country is mostly oak, elm, ash, maple, hickory, bass, hemlock, and butternut.

Skaneateles is pleasantly situated at the head of the lake from which it is named. We stopped here for the night, and admired, by a clear moon, the sloping banks, descending with alternate promontories of wood, and cultivated land, to its smooth silvery waters, whilst here and there arose the tall mast of some trading schooner, anchoring under the shore.

Cayuga, besides its agreeable site, is remarkable for a bridge over the head of the Cayuga lake, a mile in length: it is built on piles, and level; calculating from the time it took to pass it, I should think it rather over-rated at a mile; three-fourths is probably about the true length.

Geneva contains many elegant houses, beautifully placed on the rising shore, at the head of the Geneva lake; a situation indicating that the name was not bestowed at random.

Canandaigua is a town of villas, built on the rising shore of the Canandaigua lake, which terminates the picture, at the bottom of the main street: the lower part of this street is occupied by stores and warehouses, but the upper, to the length of nearly two miles, consists of villas, or ornamented cottages, tastefully finished with colonnades, porches, and verandas, each within its own garden, or pleasure ground. The prospect down this long vista to the lake is charming; if it has a defect, not to the eye, but to the mind, it arises from a consideration of the perishable materials with which these elegant buildings are constructed, impressing an idea of instability, like pleasure houses raised for an occasional festival. A fertile soil, and industrious population, are, however, bases on which brick will succeed to wood, and stone to brick.

ROCHESTER.

Rochester is built immediately on the great falls of the Genesee, about eight miles above its entrance into Lake Ontario. It is four years since the yankey axeman began to dispossess the wood nymphs, or rather the wolves and bears of this neighbourhood; and the town now contains one hundred good houses, furnished with all the conveniences of life; several comfortable taverns, a large cotton-mill, and some large corn-mills. Town lots fetch from 500 to 1000 dollars, and

and are rising in value rapidly. The whole village is as a summer hive, full of life, bustle, and activity. Its site is grand: the Genesee rushes through it, like on arrow, over a bed of limestone, and precipitates itself down three ledges of rock, of 93, 30, and 76 feet, within the distance of a mile and a half from the town: the two first ledges are of limestone; the basis of the third, as well as the adjacent banks, is of the same red clay-slate, which every where forms the bed of the St. Lawrence.

THE NIAGARA FRONTIER.

The peninsula, included generally betwixt the two lakes and the Niagara river, obtained during the war, and still keeps, the name of the Niagara Frontier. The Ouse, or Grand River, the banks of which are inhabited by the Six Nations, may be considered its western boundary, and Burlington Bay its limit to the north.

The whole frontier may be considered as divided into two plateaux: the upper, on a level with Lake Erie; the lower, sloping from the foot of the ridge to Lake Ontario. There is a marked geological distinction betwixt these two tracts. Immediately below Queenston all traces of limestone disappear.

A decided preference is given by settlers to this neighbourhood: on our side, the banks of the Grand River were long since chosen by the Six Nations for their fertility; and from thence, to the Thames and Long Point, are the finest farms in the province. The whole of the American side is rapidly settling, and Erie, built on the site of the old fort, is already a considerable town.

The northern point of the frontier, at the junction of the Niagara* with Lake Ontario, is occupied by Fort Missisaga, built opposite to the American fort, Niagara, which it is thought to command: it is star-shaped, and intended to be faced with stone, should the expence be deemed convenient. From hence to Fort George there is about a mile of flat ground, mostly occupied by the village of Newark, which has in great part been rebuilt. The houses are of wood, and, being generally placed on frames, without foundation, seem to give a stranger no more reason to expect to find them standing when he next travels that way, than the tents of an Arab, or the booths of an annual fair. There is one large inn, of a gay exterior; but, being commonly crowded with guests, is

half finished, half furnished, and miserably dirty: beds, indeed, are in more than comfortable abundance; it being no easy matter to squeeze betwixt each two of the dozen crowded into a room.

Betwixt Newark and Queenston, the river is separated from the road by a light wood, through which it breaks on the sight at intervals, frequently with the top-sails of a schooner gliding just above its banks, and the tufted woods of the American shore beyond. On the right there is an unbroken succession of luxuriant orchards, corn-fields, and farm-houses; a rare and interesting sight in Canada.

YORK.

York, being the seat of government for the upper province, is a place of considerable importance in the eyes of its inhabitants; to a stranger, however, it presents little more than about one hundred wooden houses, several of them conveniently, and even elegantly, built, and I think one, or perhaps two, of brick. The public buildings were destroyed by the Americans; but, as no ruins of them are visible, we must conclude, either that the destruction exceeded the desolation of Jerusalem, or that the loss to the arts is not quite irreparable. I believe they did not leave one stone upon another, for they did not find one. Before the city, a long flat tongue of land runs into the lake, called Gibraltar Point, probably from being very *unlike* Gibraltar. York, wholly useless, either as a port or military post, would sink into a village, and the seat of government be transferred to Kingston, but for the influence of those, whose property in the place would be depreciated by the change.

THE MOHAWKS.

The Mohawks have always been esteemed the head of the confederacy of the Five Nations. They were strongly attached to the British interest, and first followed Sir William Johnson into Canada, under their chieftain, "the Monster Brandt." The Monster had, however, some good qualities. He accustomed his people to the arts of civilized life, and made farmers of them. He built a church, and translated one of the Gospels into the Mohawk language; for, like Clovis and many of the early Anglo-Saxon and Danish Christians, he contrived to unite much religious zeal with the practices of natural ferocity. His grave is to be seen under the walls of his church. I have mentioned one of his sons; he has also a daughter living, who

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would

* The St. Lawrence, betwixt the two lakes, is commonly called the Niagara.
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would not disgrace the circles of European fashion: her face and person are fine and graceful: she speaks English, not only correctly, but elegantly; and has, both in her speech and manners, a softness approaching to Oriental languor: she retains so much of her national dress as to identify her with her people, over whom she affects no superiority, but seems pleased to preserve all the ties and duties of relationship. She held the infant of one of her relations at the font, on the Sunday of my visit to the church. The usual church and baptismal service was performed by a Dr. Aaron, an Indian, and an assistant priest; the congregation consisted of sixty or seventy persons, male and female: many of the young men were dressed in the English fashion, but several of the old warriors came with their blankets folded over them like the drapery of a statue; and in this dress, with a step and mien of quiet energy, more forcibly reminded me of the ancient Romans than some other inhabitants of this continent, who have laid claim to the resemblance. Some of them wore large silver crosses, medals, and other trinkets, on their backs and breasts; and a few had bandeaus, ornamented with feathers. Dr. Aaron, a grey-headed Mohawk, had touched his cheeks and forehead with a few spots of vermillion, in honour of Sunday: he wore a surplice, and preached at considerable length; but his delivery was unimpassioned, and monotonous in the extreme. Indian eloquence decays with the peculiar state of society to which it owed its energy.

The Mohawk village stands on a little plain, looking down upon the Grand River; upon the alluvion of which the inhabitants raise their crops, chiefly of Indian corn. Their houses are built of logs, rudely put together, and exhibiting externally a great appearance of neglect and want of comfort. Some few are in a better condition. The house belonging to Brandt's family resembles that of a petty English farmer; Dr. Aaron's was neat and clean. The doctor, who had been regularly ordained, and spoke very good English, told me the village had been much injured by the war, which had put a stop to its improvements, and dispersed the inhabitants over the country. This is probable enough: the Indians advance towards civilized life with a forced motion, and revert to habits of warfare and wandering with a natural rebound. The Cayugas seem to have made less progress than the Mohawks

towards domestic accommodation: the fire is still in the middle of their dwellings: the earth, or a block of wood, suffices for chair and table; and planks, arranged round the walls, like cabin births, form their beds. They seemed very cheerful, though with little reason; for their crop of Indian corn, which they were now drying and husking, had been spoiled by premature frost, and, in common with all the other Indians of the settlement, their only resource against starvation was the British commissariat. They confine themselves to the cultivation of Indian corn, because it requires little labour, and of that sort which may be performed by women; the consequence is, that a single frosty night strikes them with famine, or at least throws them for support upon the magazine of Kingston. The evil and remedy proceed from the same source: an habitual dependance on our bounty destroys, by rendering needless, all exertion towards self-support. But from the system of Indian tutelage results the necessity of guardianship, that is, of the Indian department, through which some thousands of the public money are annually filtered: plentiful harvests on the Grand River would destroy golden crops of place and patronage.

The whole of the settlements are reckoned to furnish about 500 warriors to our government. These, if not the best, are certainly the dearest, of our allies; besides the support of themselves and their families during war, several thousands are expended annually in clothing and nick-nacks, under the name of presents. Every accidental loss, from failure of crops or other disasters, they are in the habit of expecting should be made good by the liberality of their "Great Father," whose means and generosity they are well disposed to consider as unbounded; an idea which his agents are little careful to repress. During the late war they behaved with the cautious courage of German auxiliaries, evidently considering it their first interest to spare themselves—their second, to serve their father; a mode of conduct which was nearly resented by the more enterprising warriors of the west, who had taken up the hatchet from a strong feeling of necessity and hatred to the encroachments of the Americans.

BUFFALO.

Buffalo was among the frontier villages burnt during the war; not a house was left standing. It is now not merely a flourishing village, but a considerable town,

town, with shops and hotels, which might any where be called handsome, and, in this part of the country, astonishing. Its situation is highly advantageous, forming the extremity of the new line of settled country already described, and communicating by the lakes with the Western States of the Union, and the two Canadas. The American side of Lake Erie is also settling fast, and Erie is already a thriving town.

PHILADELPHIA.

Philadelphia is as much complained of for its architectural regularity, as most other cities are for the reverse. Large towns have commonly grown up from casual and insignificant beginnings; but, in planning the capital of a state, it would have been as singular an absurdity to have made the streets crooked, as to have built the houses upon models of the 13th century: it is difficult to say, why rectilinear uniformity should be more insupportable than curvilinear. All the streets of Philadelphia are spacious; the names of many of them, as Sassafras, Chesnut, Locust, &c. record their sylvan origin; and the rows of Lombardy poplars, with which they are shaded, seem a second revolution in favour of vegetation. The private houses are characterised by elegant neatness; the steps and window sills of many of them are of grey marble, and have large mats placed before the doors. The streets are carefully swept, as well as the foot-paths, which are paved with brick. The shops do not yield in display to those of London, nor are the tradesmen less civil and attentive.

THE FINE ARTS.

Philadelphia contains an Academy of the Fine Arts, founded in 1805 by voluntary contribution, and soon after incorporated by the legislature. It has a handsome building, containing rooms for drawing and public exhibitions. In the hall of statuary, besides numerous casts, are several pleasing pieces of Italian sculpture, particularly two Bacchantes. The picture gallery contains several excellent pictures of the old masters, and a large collection of the modern.

Society in Philadelphia (and what may be said on this point with regard to Philadelphia, applies with double force to all other parts of America,) is yet in its infancy. By society, I mean the art of combining social qualities, so as to produce the highest degree of rational enjoyment; this supposes a common stock of ideas on subjects generally interesting, and a manner of giving them

circulation, by which the self-love of each may be at once roused and satisfied. Public amusements, the arts, such literary and philosophical topics as require taste and sensibility, without supposing a fatiguing depth of erudition, a morality rather graceful than austere, and a total absence of dogmatism on all subjects, constitute many of the materials for such an intercourse. In Philadelphia, public amusements are nothing; the fine arts little considered, because every man is sufficiently occupied with his own business; for the same reason, questions of mere speculation in literature or philosophy would be looked upon as a waste of time; in morality, every thing is precise; in religion, all is dogma.

Religious toleration has produced in America an effect, which, though natural, is curiously the reverse of what the advocates for a church, "by law established," commonly predict. A free competition, on the contrary, not only stimulates the zeal of all, because one sect has no advantage over another, except what it acquires by its own exertions, but, in the many shades of belief it offers to the public choice, there are few so fastidious as not to find some colour suitable to their own complexion; and, as every proselyte is a genuine victory, the stray sheep from one fold are very quickly caught up and penned in another.—There are 42 churches in Philadelphia: Roman Catholic, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Quaker, Free Quaker, Swedish Lutheran, German Lutheran, German Reformed, Associate, Associate Reformed, Covenanters, Methodists, Christian church, Moravian, Universalist, Independent, Unitarian, Jewish. To fall in with none of these would indicate a surprising eccentricity of character, not likely to meet with much indulgence; and, having chosen one, the American would consider that, like a trade, it was seriously to be followed, and no longer speculated upon.

BALTIMORE.

While I was in Baltimore I saw a sketch of the city, taken in 1750; it then consisted of about half a dozen houses, built round the landing-place: it now contains 50,000 inhabitants, and is growing rapidly. Here are reckoned to be some of the largest fortunes in the Union, that is, of from 500,000 to 1,000,000 dollars. To strangers, the polished hospitality of its inhabitants renders it a pleasanter residence than Philadelphia.

The public buildings of Baltimore,

being all of brick, have little architectural beauty; they evince the prosperity and good polity, rather than the taste, of the city. There is, however, a monument erecting to the memory of Washington, in a kind of park adjoining the town; it consists of a marble column, adorned with trophies in bronze: the design, like the man whose fame it records, is nobly simple.

WASHINGTON.

The traveller, having passed through Bladensburg, on the east branch of the Patuxent, where the action was fought, which the Americans have nick-named the "Bladensburg races," crosses a sandy tract, interspersed with oak barrens and pine woods, until suddenly mounting a little rise, close to a poor cottage with its Indian corn patch, he finds himself opposite to the Capitol of the Federal city. It stands on an ancient bank of the Patowmac, about eighty feet above the present level of the river, the course of which it commands, as well as the adjacent country, as far as the Alleganey Ridges. The edifice consists of two wings, intended to be connected by a centre, surmounted by a dome or cupola. The design is pure and elegant, but the whole building wants grandeur. Each wing would not be a large private mansion: the interior has consequently a contracted appearance, a kind of economy of space disagreeably contrasting with the gigantic scale of nature without, as well as with our ideas of the growing magnitude of the American nation. The staircase, which is a kind of vestibule to the impression to be produced by the whole building, is scarcely wide enough for three persons to pass conveniently. The chambers of the senate and representatives are of very moderate dimensions, and the judgment-hall, with its low-browed roof and short columns, seems modelled after the prison of Constance in Marmion.

From the foot of the Capitol Hill there runs a straight road, (intended to be a street,) planted with poplars for about two miles, to the president's house, a handsome stone mansion, forming a conspicuous object from the Capitol Hill: near it are the public offices, and some streets nearly filled up: about half a mile further is a pleasant row of houses, in one of which the president at present resides: there are a few tolerable houses still further on the road to George Town, —and this is nearly the sum total of the City for 1816. It used to be a joke against Washington, that next door

neighbours must go through a wood to make their visits; but the jest and forest have vanished together: there is now scarcely a tree betwixt George Town and the Navy Yard, two miles beyond the Capitol, except the poplars I have mentioned, which may be considered as the *locum tenentes* of future houses.

Land and houses are rising in value, new buildings are erecting, and, with the aid of the intended university, there is little doubt that Washington will attain as great an extent as can be expected for a city possessed of no commercial advantages, and created, not by the natural course of events, but by a political speculation. The plan, indeed, supposes an immense growth, but, even if this were attainable, it seems doubtful how far an overgrown luxurious capital would be the fittest seat for learning, or even legislation.

At Washington, during the sittings of Congress, the boarding-houses are divided into messes, according to the political principles of the inmates; nor is a stranger admitted without some introduction, and the consent of the whole company. I chanced to join a democratic mess, and name a few of its members with gratitude, for the pleasure their society gave me:—Commodore Decatur and his lady, the Abbé Correa, the great botanist and plenipotentiary of Portugal; the secretary of the navy, the secretary of the navy board, known as the author of a humorous publication, entitled "John Bull and Brother Jonathan," with eight or ten members of Congress, principally from the Western States, which are generally considered as most decidedly hostile to England, but whom I did not on this account find less good-humoured and courteous.

The president, or rather his lady, holds a drawing-room weekly, during the sitting of Congress. He takes by the hand those who are presented to him; shaking hands being discovered in America to be more rational and manly than kissing them. Nothing in these assemblies more attracted my notice than the extraordinary stature of most of the Western members; the room seemed filled with giants, among whom moderately-sized men crept like pigmies. I know not well to what the difference may be attributed, but the surprising growth of the inhabitants of the Western States is matter of astonishment to those of the Eastern, and of the coast line generally. The only persons to be compared with these Goliaths of the West, were six Indian

Indian chiefs from Georgia, Chactaws or Chickasaws, who, having come to Washington on public business, were presented at Mrs. Madison's drawing-room. They had a still greater appearance of muscular power than the Americans; and, while looking on them, I comprehended the prowess of those ancient knights, whose single might held an army in check, "and made all Troy retire."

CONGRESS.

The sittings of Congress are held in a temporary building, during the repair of the Capitol: I attended them frequently, and was fortunate enough to be present at one interesting debate on a change in the mode of presidential elections: most of the principal speakers took a part in it: Messrs. Gaston, Calhoun, and Western, in support of it; Randolph and Grosvenor against it. The merits of the question were not immediately to be comprehended by a stranger; but their style of speaking was, in the highest degree, correct and logical, particularly that of Mr. Western of New Hampshire, whose argumentative acuteness extorted a compliment from Mr. Randolph himself, "albeit unused to the complimenting mood." Mr. Grosvenor, both in action and language, might be considered a finished orator, as far as our present notions of practical oratory extend. Mr. Randolph whose political talents, or rather political success, is said to be marred by an eccentric turn of thought, which chimes in with no party, seems rather a brilliant, than a convincing, speaker; his elocution is distinct and clear to shrillness, his command of language and illustration seems unlimited; but he gave me the idea of a man dealing huge blows against a shadow, and wasting his dexterity in splitting hairs: his political sentiments are singular: he considers the government of the United States as an elective monarchy: "Torture the constitution as you will," said he, in the course of the debate, "the President will elect his successor, and that will be his son, whenever he has one old enough to succeed him." No expressions are used either of approbation or the contrary; whatever may be the opinion of the House, the most perfect attention is given to each member; nor, however long he may speak, is he ever interrupted by those indications of impatience so common in our House of Commons. This may reasonably be accounted for by supposing that their average speeches are in themselves better;

or, more agreeably, by conjecturing that the American idea of excellence is put at a lower standard than our own. Both the talents, however, and behaviour of the members seem worthy of the government, and of what America is, and may be. Their forms of business and debate nearly resemble those of our parliament; always excepting wigs and gowns, a piece of grave absurdity well omitted: for 'tis surely an odd conceit to fancy the dignity of the first officers of states attached to, or supported by, large conglomerations of artificial hair.

MOUNT VERNON.

Crossing the Patowmac by a wooden bridge, a mile and a quarter in length, the toll of which is a dollar, I proceeded through Alexandria to Mount Vernon. Whatever is worth describing in the house, or situation, has been many times described: having walked through the gardens, I requested the old German gardener, who acted as Ciceroni, to conduct me to the tomb of Washington: "Dere, go by dat path, and you will come to it," said he: I followed the path across the lawn, to the brow that overlooks the Patowmac, and, passing a kind of cellar in the bank, which seemed to be an ice-house, continued my search, but to no effect:—I had already found it: this cellar-like hole in the bank, closed by an old wooden door, which had never been even painted, was the tomb of Washington, with not a rail, a stone, or even a laurel, "to flourish o'er his grave."

It is said that the Federal city will finally receive the remains of its designer; but the dead can wait, and, in the interim, the matter was nearly cut short by an attempt to steal the bones from their present receptacle, to carry them about for a show. The old door has since been kept padlocked.

MR. JEFFERSON.

Having an introduction to Mr. Jefferson, I ascended his little mountain on a fine morning, which gave the situation its due effect. The whole of the sides and base are covered with forest, through which roads have been cut circularly, so that the winding may be shortened or prolonged at pleasure: the summit is an open lawn, near to the south side of which the house is built, with its garden just descending the brow; the saloon, or central hall, is ornamented with several pieces of antique sculpture, Indian arms, Mammoth bones, and other curiosities collected from various parts of the Union.

I walked with him round his grounds
to

to visit his pet trees, and improvements of various kinds. During the walk, he pointed out to my observation a conical mountain, rising singly at the edge of the southern horizon of the landscape: its distance he said was 40 miles, and its dimensions those of the greater Egyptian pyramid; so that it accurately represents the appearance of the pyramid at the same distance; there is a small cleft visible on its summit, through which the true meridian of Monticello exactly passes: its most singular property, however, is that, on different occasions, it looms, or alters its appearance, becoming sometimes cylindrical, sometimes square, and sometimes assuming the form of an inverted cone. Mr. Jefferson had not been able to connect this phenomenon with any particular season or state of the atmosphere, except that it most commonly occurred in the forenoon. He observed, that it was not only wholly unaccounted for by the laws of vision, but that it had not as yet engaged the attention of philosophers so far as to acquire a name; that of looming being, in fact, a term applied by sailors to appearances of a similar kind at sea. The Blue Mountains are also observed to loom, though not in so remarkably a degree.

It must be interesting to recall and preserve the political sentiments of a man who has held so distinguished a station in public life as Mr. Jefferson. He seemed to consider much of the freedom and happiness of the American people to arise from local circumstances.—“Our population,” he observed, “has an elasticity, by which it would fly off from oppressive taxation.” He instanced the beneficial effects of a free government, in the case of New Orleans, where many proprietors, who were in a state of indigence under the dominion of Spain, have risen to a state of sudden wealth, solely by the rise in the value of land, which followed a change of government. Their ingenuity in mechanical inventions, agricultural improvements, and that mass of general information to be found among Americans of all ranks and conditions, he ascribed to that ease of circumstances, which afforded them leisure to cultivate their minds, after the cultivation of their lands was completed.—In fact, I have been frequently surprised to find mathematical and other useful works in houses, which seemed to have little pretension to the luxury of learning. Another cause, Mr. Jefferson observed, might be discovered in the many

court and county meetings, which brought men frequently together on public business, and thus gave them habits, both of thinking and of expressing their thoughts on subjects, which, in other countries, are confined to the consideration of the privileged few. Mr. Jefferson has not the reputation of being very friendly to England: we should, however, be aware, that a partiality, in this respect, is not absolutely the duty of an American citizen; neither is it to be expected that the policy of our government should be regarded in foreign countries with the same complacency with which it is looked upon by ourselves: but, whatever may be his sentiments in this respect, politeness naturally repressed any offensive expression of them: he talked of our affairs with candour and apparent good-will, though leaning, perhaps, to the gloomier side of the picture. He did not perceive by what means we could be extracted from our present financial embarrassments, without some kind of revolution in our government: on my replying that our habits were remarkably steady, and that great sacrifices would be made to prevent a violent catastrophe, he acceded to the observation, but demanded, if those who made the sacrifices would not require some political reformation in return.

Relative to the light in which he views the conduct of the allied sovereigns, I cannot do better than insert a letter of his to Dr. Logan, dated 18th October, 1815, and published in the American newspapers:—

“Dear sir,—I thank you for the extract in yours of August 16th respecting the Emperor Alexander. It arrived here a day or two after I had left this place, from which I have been absent about seven or eight weeks. I had, from other information, formed the most favourable opinion of the virtues of the Emperor Alexander, and considered his partiality to this country as a prominent proof of them. The magnanimity of his conduct, on the first capture of Paris, still magnified every thing we had believed of him; but how he will come out of his present trial remains to be seen. That the sufferings which France had inflicted on other countries justified some reprisals, cannot be questioned, but I have not yet learned what crimes Poland, Saxony, Belgium, Venice, Lombardy, and Genoa, had merited for them, not merely a temporary punishment, but that of permanent subjugation, and a destitution of independence and self-government. The fable

able of Æsop and the lion dividing the spoils, is, I fear, becoming true history, and the moral code of Napoleon and the English government, a substitute for that of Grotius, of Puffendorf, and even of the pure doctrines of the great author of our own religion. We were safe ourselves from Bonaparte, because he had not the British fleets at his command. We were safe from the British fleets, because they had Bonaparte at their back; but the British fleets, and the conquerors of Bonaparte, being now combined, and the Hartford nation drawn off to them, we have uncommon reason to look to our own affairs. This, however, I leave to others, offering up prayers to Heaven, the only contribution of old age, for the safety of our country. Be so good as to present me affectionately to Mrs. Logan, and to accept, yourself, the assurance of my esteem and respect.

T. JEFFERSON."

The conversation turning in American history, Mr. Jefferson related an anecdote of the Abbé Raynal, which serves to shew how history, even when it calls itself philosophical, is written. The Abbé was in company with Dr. Franklin, and several Americans at Paris, when mention chanced to be made of his anecdote of Polly Baker, related in his sixth volume, upon which one of the company observed, that no such law as that alluded to in the story existed in New England: the Abbé stoutly maintained the authenticity of his tale, when Dr. Franklin, who had hitherto remained silent, said, "I can account for all this; you took the anecdote from a newspaper, of which I was at that time editor; and, happening to be very short of news, I composed and inserted the whole story." "Ah! doctor," said the Abbé, making a true French retreat, "I had rather have your stories than other men's truths."

Mr. Jefferson preferred Botta's Italian History of the American Revolution to any that had yet appeared, remarking, however, the inaccuracy of the speeches. Indeed, the true history of that period seems to be generally considered as lost: A remarkable letter on this point lately appeared in print, from the venerable Mr. John Adams to a Mr. Niles, who had solicited his aid to collect and publish a body of revolutionary speeches. He says, "of all the speeches made in Congress, from 1774 to 1777, inclusive, of both years, not one sentence remains, except a few periods of Dr. Witherspoon, printed in his works." His concluding

sentence is very strong. "In plain English, and in a few words, Mr. Niles, I consider the true history of the American revolution, and the establishment of our present constitutions, as lost for ever; and nothing but misrepresentations, or partial accounts of it, will ever be recovered."

I slept a night at Monticello, and left it in the morning, with such a feeling as the traveller quits the mouldering remains of a Grecian temple, or the pilgrim a fountain in the desert.

CHARLESTON.

Streets unpaved and narrow, small wooden houses, from among which rise, in every quarter of the town, stately mansions, surrounded from top to bottom with broad verandas, and standing within little gardens full of orange-trees, palmettoes, and magnolias, are features which give Charleston an expression belonging rather to the south of Europe, than to the Teutonic cities of the north. Perhaps, taking into view its large black population and glowing temperature in January, it is not very unlike some of the cities on the Mediterranean coast of Africa. In other respects it is a noble monument of what human avarice can effect: its soil is a barren burning sand; with a river on either side, overflowing into pestilential marshes, which exhale a contagion so pernicious as to render sleeping a single night within its influence, during the summer months, an experiment of the utmost hazard. Even the town is no place of refuge during the hottest part of the season: all the inhabitants who can afford it then fly to a barren sand-bank in the harbour, called Sullivan's Island, containing one well and a few palmettoes: here they dwell in miserable wooden tenements, trembling in every storm, lest (as very frequently happens,) their hiding-places should be blown from over their heads, or deluged by an inundation of the sea.

Charleston has a great reputation for hospitality, a virtue very generally conceded to the Americans, even by those who are willing to deny them every other: in my judgment, their fame, in this respect, as much exceeds their deserving, as in most other cases it falls below it. Hospitality, in the true sense of the word, means that liberal entertainment, which spreads a couch and table for the stranger, merely because he is a stranger: this was the hospitality of the ancients, and is still that of the Arabs, Tartars, and uncorrupted Indian tribes; it was also that of the Americans themselves in

a less advanced state of society: Mr. Jefferson told me, that, in his father's time, it was no uncommon thing for gentlemen to post their servants on the main road, for the purpose of amicably way-laying, and bringing to their houses, any travellers who might chance to pass. Of such violence not a particle is now to be apprehended, at least in the old States. While I was in the north, I was constantly told of the hospitality of the south: At Philadelphia I found it ice-bound, at Baltimore there was indeed a thaw, but at Washington the frost, probably from the congealing influence of politics, was harder than ever; the thermometer rose but little at Richmond, and, when I arrived at Charleston, I was entertained, not with its own hospitality, but with an eulogium upon that of Boston.—I did not retrace my steps to put the matter to proof.—The experience of an individual would not be very conclusive, were hospitality a discriminating virtue; but its essence is prodigality; and the name of stranger the only requisite passport to its favour. Of such hospitality the traveller will find nothing, except, indeed, his rank or character should be such as to give an éclat to his entertainers.

AN INQUIRY

Concerning the

POPULATION OF NATIONS;

Containing

A REFUTATION OF MR. MALTHUS'S

ESSAY on POPULATION.

BY GEORGE ENSOR, ESQUIRE.

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[The name of Ensor is identified with the cause of civil liberty, political reform, and human happiness. He combines in his writings the energy of Locke, the universality of Voltaire, and the originality of Bolingbroke. These are bold assertions in regard to a living writer—but they are true,—and, being true, they ought to be proclaimed, not merely to encourage him to proceed in his exalted career, but to induce the contemporary generation to consult his various works. The inquiry before us affords a fair specimen of Mr. Ensor's energetic style and extensive research; but it merits general notice as a reply to the doctrines, as impudent as false, of those who, having made the world wretched by their errors or crimes, seek to charge on the course of nature results for which they alone are answerable.]

EVIDENCE OF EXPERIENCE.

A NUMEROUS population has been generally esteemed a positive good; some have qualified their expressions respecting it, while a few repute populousness as a positive evil. The latter doctrine, which appears paradoxical, I shall hereafter investigate: at present, I proceed to specify some of the statesmen and philosophers who have favored by their authority and institutions the increase of mankind. First, of legislators; and first among these, the Athenians, who rank chief among the nations of antiquity.

Among the Athenians parentage gave a distinguishing prerogative. According to Dinarchus, fathers of legitimate children were alone eligible to the ministry and to military command; lawful offspring were also necessary to enable orators to address the people. Parents recruited the democracy, and they were in consequence considered by those who framed the law more interested in the execution of their office. The Athenians also enacted compulsory laws to induce population, and bachelors were subjected to penalties.

The Lacedemonians were equally intent with the Athenians, by rewards and penalties, by honours and infamy, to encourage population; indeed Plutarch couples Lycurgus and Solon, as zealously promoting the same object. By the laws of Sparta, those citizens who had three children were free from watch and ward; and those who had four, according to Aristotle, or five, according to Ælian, were exempted from all public employments; while those who abstained from marriage were oppressed, discredited, fined, and the fine reiterated; they were also excluded from the schools of exercise, particularly from those in which the naked virgins exhibited their prowess. Incorrigible bachelors were also at certain festivals dragged round the altars and beaten by the women; and, to consummate their misery, they sunk into the grave hated and disgraced. An old bachelor at Sparta was reputed an outcast, selfish, and sterile; while the father of a family was distinguished in manhood, revered in age, and honoured as a public benefactor and a common parent. By his children he enjoyed the prerogative of representing the dignity of the state, and by them the desperate valour of Spartan patriots obtained a double crown of glory. Of the three hundred chosen Spartans who sacrificed themselves for the liberty of Greece at Thermopylae with

with Leonidas, all, says the historian, had children.

The statesmen at Rome pursued the same policy, and by more various expedients than those adopted by Athens or Lacedemon. The *jus trium liberorum* was inserted in the Roman code; which equity (such is the language of the law) was enlarged for those who had four children, and which again was amplified when the family increased to five. Children were the most powerful intercessors for an offending parent; and criminals, as they enumerated their offspring, reduced the customary inflictions of the law. Children relieved the dependent from subjection: even women, who have been degraded in most nations, at Rome were taught to regard their children as their sureties for emancipation. Mothers who had three children escaped tutelage; and a freed woman, who had four, attained unconditional liberty.

In aid of these inducements, Julius Cæsar conferred presents on those who had many children, and Augustus increased their amount. At Rome also, the married had a distinct place in the theatre,—an honour not unimportant among a people so fond of exhibitions. Married persons were preferred to public employments, and by the *lex Papia Poppæa*, their pretensions were advanced by one year for each of their children. Beside rewards and prerogatives to bribe individuals to marriage, the Romans enacted penalties and disabilities against those who abstained from that contract. A legatee forfeited his bequest, if in a hundred days after the death of the testator he was not married; and, in order that marriages might be contracted for the purpose of population, a married man without children could only receive half of the sum bequeathed to him. Furius Camillus obliged the unmarried with threats and fines to espouse those widowed by the wars. Julius and Augustus Cæsar sanctioned by laws the acts of the censors, and inflicted on bachelors the fine *uxorium*. To all these instigations by pain and pleasure, superstition added its sanction, and a marvellous story was related of the destruction of the Fabii, who neglected to obey the ordinance of marriage.

Nor should the Jews be omitted in this summary. To “increase and multiply,” they reputed a Divine command. Under this impression, some have argued that the longevity of the antediluvians was a means adopted by Providence for this

purpose. Whatever occasioned the procrastinated being of those people, there can be no doubt of their anxiety to enlarge their population: a new married man was exonerated from all civil business, and he was freed from the paramount duties of war for one year. The Jews also held, that to satisfy the law a man should be married at twenty years of age, and that he who neglected the precept of “Increase and multiply,” was a homicide.

The Persians were not less attentive than other nations to the populousness of their empire. Herodotus says, that a Persian was respected according to the number of his children, and that the king sent annual presents to those who were so fortunate and so serviceable. Nor were the women of Persia without their public rewards on such occasions. Plutarch relates that Alexander doubled the gifts to pregnant women, which had been instituted by Cyrus.

Mahomet and his followers have been equally zealous for marriage and population. Thornton says, that, at Constantinople, no unmarried man, or, what is esteemed the same, who has not a female in his family, would be permitted to keep an independent establishment. “The women of this religion,” says Lady W. Montague, “are taught to believe that they best ensure their future happiness by employing themselves in making young mussulmans, while those who die unproductive perish in a reprobate state.”

The laws and writings of the Chinese, ancient and modern, abound with the most exalted expressions in favour of marriage and children.

The civil and religious code of the Hindoo considers marriage an indispensable duty: in consequence, Moor states that “so universal is matrimony among the Hindoos, that it would be difficult to find an unhusbanded female of a respectable family arrived at puberty,—that is, of the age of eleven or twelve.”

The ancient Gauls considered their countrymen disgraced who were unmarried at twenty years of age: yet the penalty for celibacy was not inflicted among the Romans, before the bachelor attained his twenty-fifth year. The modern French have their inducements to marriage; and almost all Europeans nations distinguish by honours, prerogatives, exemptions, privations, pains, or disgraces, (which I shall hereafter particularize,) the different states of celibacy and marriage.

If we turn from civilised society to

rude life, the savage tribes appear still more interested for the sufficiency of their people by the frequent incorporation of their enemies. Heriot mentions the Miamacs, Iroquois, and Albinaquis, among the Indians, who elect their chiefs on account of their numerous offspring.

ENGLAND.

The English have added their voice to the great majority for the multiplication of mankind. Sir William Temple proposed a tax on bachelors when they were twenty-five years old, "since the late custom among us of marrying late or never." Bolingbroke insisted "that the increase of people must be always an advantage, and can never be hurtful to any state." Swift as vehemently said, that "it is an undoubted maxim that the people are the riches of a country." Sir James Steuart affirmed, that "the increase of numbers in a state shews youth and vigour." The Encyclopædia Britannica concludes, "as the strength and glory of a kingdom or state consist in the multitude of its subjects, celibacy above all things should be discouraged." Dagge, "that the strength of every commonwealth chiefly consists in the number of its inhabitants." Paley speaks of "the importance of population, and the superiority of it above every other national advantage—that it is the true and absolute interest of a country." And Mr. Bentham, in the language of Mons. Dumont, considers "*la force et la richesse d'une nation—le nombre des hommes ?*"

But the laws of England are self-destructive on this as on various subjects:—they fix the wages of labour, tax the necessities of the industrious, impose the same law on the ingenious and enterprising, and on the inexpert and doltish, localize individual exertion;—all these are inimical to the increase and comforts of society: yet, if we should believe British rulers, they have been most anxious for the populousness of the country; and the greater population of a village, town, or district, has often been proclaimed by them as the triumph of their own ability and virtue.

MR. MALTHUS.

Mr. Malthus says, "It is an utter misconception of my argument to infer that I am an enemy to population,—I am only an enemy to vice and misery." In what religion, in what state, in what age, does he not exhibit the misery of mankind? What is the burthen of his theme?—That population "presses so hard against the limits of their food; that

their population pressed so hard against the limits of their means of subsistence," which he frequently repeats. Does he not involve all savage and civilised societies, all states ancient and modern, every European nation now existing, "except perhaps Russia," as labouring under this pressure? Distress so clings to mankind in his system, that the sum of his philosophy is,—man and misery, no matter whether many or few, whether thronged in cities, united in towns, cultivating the earth, pasturing herds of cattle, hunting nature's commoners,—in every variety of life, in every shade of being, mankind exceeds the subsistence which the earth affords:

No living thing, whate'er its food, feasts there,

But the chameleon, who can feast on air.

In the same disregard of his principles and argument, he says, *an increase of population is a great positive good, when it follows its natural order*;—and he considers the natural order, contrary to Sir James Steuart, multiplication of people in consequence of extended agriculture. Yet what is more broadly advanced by him?—is it not his primary position; is it not the aim of his argument; does it not intervene in his details—that man by nature tends to increase beyond the increase of subsistence, and this with accelerated progression? He states in the beginning of his treatise, that *population has a constant tendency to increase beyond the means of subsistence*. To the same effect, he says, "the tendency to early marriages is so strong that we want every possible help that we can get to counteract it." Here this natural tendency is so strong, that it requires, according to him, a double check. Is this tendency natural or not? Will he say it is unnatural?—Yet it is to be counteracted by every possible means, he says, because it is pernicious. And yet Mr. Malthus also says, "We cannot but conceive that it is an object of the Creator that the earth should be replenished; and it appears to me clear, that this would not be effected without a tendency in population to increase faster than food: and, as, without the present law of increase, the peopling of the earth does not proceed very rapidly, we have undoubtedly some reason to believe that this law is not too powerful for its apparent object. The desire of the means of subsistence would be comparatively confined in its effects, and would fail of producing that general activity so necessary to the improvement of the human faculties."

faculties, were it not for the strong universal effort of population to increase with greater rapidity than its supplies."

Mark this passage. What becomes of his praise of population when it follows its natural order? which order, in the last quotation, he insists is not the order of God's providence; for God impressed a tendency to population faster than food; and that this advance of population was necessary to improve the human faculties and people the earth.

Hanc deus et melior litem natura diremit.

The contradictions of Mr. Malthus multiply on every separate topic. He talks of the wisdom of the Author of nature, "which is apparent in all his works;" and again, "the laws of nature which are the laws of God." Yet how grievously he charges with evil these same laws in the following words: that, "though human institutions appear to be, and indeed often are, the obvious and obtrusive causes of much mischief to mankind, they are in reality light and superficial in comparison with the deep-rooted causes of evil which result from the laws of nature and the passions of mankind."

Est operæ pretium duplicis pernoscere juris Naturam.

This is truly a new way of reasoning from nature's law to nature's God. But it certainly proves one position of the Professor of Political Economy in the East-India College,—that the subject of population is *yet in its infancy*, if he be the master of the art.

These contradictions and repugnances of Mr. Malthus I here mention to justify for the present a passing observation on his defects; for I shall hereafter, when I investigate his theory, exhibit numerous inconsistencies in his essay. The reason of this sad deficiency in this writer has proceeded from different causes. Having originally, as appears to me, no very commanding mind, with moderate learning, and, by his own avowal in respect to this particular subject, very limited knowledge; he fastened a theory on a dispute, and thus advanced opinions which he had not ingenuousness to retract, and dared not defend. Finding, on consideration, that his original doctrine was narrow, and false, and hideous—for what could be more false and monstrous than that population was only controlled by vice and misery?—he attempted to restore its credit by adding moral restraint to the insol-

vent firm of his philosophy. And, in order to keep these partners in tolerable society, he laboured to reconcile antipathies and harmonize discord. Thus his contradictions have increased with every new edition; till, in some instances, as in that already noticed, of increase and supplies, tendency and natural, and nature and God, they resemble a certain glorious creed. I know nothing on this side the Limbo of vanity to which his antitheses in error may be more aptly compared, than that puzzle in *legerdemain* by which liquors of different flavours and different colours are drawn from the same vessel and the same orifice.

It is a dogma of Mr. Malthus, that there is a tendency in nature to increase beyond the means of subsistence. Nor is this the whole; for the denouncement in the Decalogue, of visiting the sins of the fathers on the children, he applies to sinners against his theory; as if breeding were condemned and not commanded. He says, "in the moral government of the world it seems evidently necessary that the sins of the father should be visited upon their children." I do not perceive the evident necessity of any punishment undeserved. We are, however, obliged to Mr. Malthus for discovering that "increase and multiply" is original sin and its punishment also.

This is among the rare inventions of Mr. Malthus,—and it appears in an edition in which he says, *he endeavoured to soften some of the harshest conclusions of the first essay*. In the first, he considered neither children nor parents, but full-grown men met at *nature's mighty feast*, at which a straggler obtruded, who is thrust out, for *there is no cover for him*. A mighty feast truly, which could not afford food for one casual visitor. Yet here he holds to his text: for even at nature's feast, to which Mr. Malthus is the purveyor, population presses against the means of subsistence, and the banquet of nature shrinks into a short allowance ministered by a miser. Reduce this figurative language to intelligible prose. By what law of nature do some feast, and many want necessities—nay, want necessities, that others may feast in spite of nature? By what view of nature, or God, or man, do some rejoice in all the delicacies of the season—that is, all unseasonable things; and others suffer the privations of grain and roots planted in due time, and gathered accordingly? There are questions on this subject that have escaped Mr. Malthus. Paley's

Philosophy, which is the text-book in our university, and of course not jacobinical, speaks of another feast, from which, he says, "you would hardly permit any one to fill his pockets or his wallet, or carry off with him a quantity of provision to hoard up, or waste, or give his dogs, or stew down in sauces, or convert into articles of superfluous luxury; especially if, by so doing, he pinched the guests at the lower end of the table." Yet, this is permitted by Mr. Malthus; and the guest so pinched, is reviled for not obeying the repeated admonitions of God and nature.

Mr. Malthus says, no one has a right to subsistence when his labour will not fairly purchase it. If so, a portion of this man's property is more sacred than that man's life. But, suppose the position true, and that a right to subsistence depends on the labour of the individual:—who labour? the rich, the aristocracy, the proprietors of land, the holders of stock, heirs in their own right, and princes by right divine?—Here again Paley interposes: "It is a mistake to suppose that the rich man maintains his servants, tradesmen, tenants, and labourers: the truth is, they maintain him." Mr. Malthus may have heard that the strongest spirit is drawn from the poorest grape; but he has not heard that the greatest wealth is produced by the poorest men.

Mr. Malthus considers that attributing in any way the distress of the poor to the higher classes of society is a vulgar error, and asserting that they suffer by the mismanagement and prodigality of rulers, is the greatest wickedness: nay, that those who impeach human institutions, for numerous evils to society, are the most successful supporters of despotism;—to which he adds something about *revolutionary horrors*. These are astounding dogmas. He thinks that governments are comparatively inoperative respecting the wants and unhappiness of the people, and *that it depends upon the conduct of the poor themselves*. Does slavery depend on the slaves themselves? Did it depend on the people in France that the nobles were exonerated from taxes? Does it depend on the Irish peasantry that the proprietors are absentees? or on the catholics of Ireland that they pay tithes to the protestant clergy? Does it depend on the poor of England that they pay for salt a tax thirty times the original cost of the article? Did the British people war on France in defence of the old monarchy and of its priests and nobles? Do the people who pay the

taxes incurred in that war understand *legitimacy*?

Mr. Malthus abuses the people; and against none has he been unmeasured in his slanders than against the British people. He says of them, "Even when they have an opportunity of saving, they seldom exercise it." Yet, amidst aggravated taxation and distress, eight hundred thousand labouring Britons are now enrolled in benefit societies. The fact is, the poor have increased, because the wages of labour have not at all advanced proportionably to the enhancement of the articles of subsistence, and that much capital has been extinguished. As taxes augmented, the necessities of the people—their bread, beer, cheese, tobacco, soap, salt, &c.—were surcharged: and, as the taxes pressed unequally, some had their comforts curtailed, others were reduced to a stint; and many, from the crowd forced down into the lowest order of labourers, have been rendered miserable. The poor-rates (I speak of course generally) simply return in alms part of those sums which unfeeling landlords, griping priests, the state money-changers, and a rapacious prodigal government have wrested from the pittance of the laborious.

Mr. Malthus undertook the subject of population in consequence of Mr. Godwin's "Inquirer." He commenced author not from mature thought, or after profound investigation, but confessedly *on the impulse of the occasion*. His first essay having a success which might well surprise him, he read, and he enlarged his work. He read, however, not to correct his first loose conceptions, but to support his prejudices. Thence one volume increased in size; it then became two; and two became three volumes, with appendixes and prefaces and notes. Mr. Malthus, however, affirms that he is a corrector of prevailing opinions. He also says, "If the principles which I have endeavoured to establish be false, I most sincerely hope to see them completely refuted." Let him be gratified.

Mr. Malthus says, "It is not enough that a country should have the power of producing food in abundance; but the state of society must be such as to afford the means of its proper distribution: and the reason why population goes on so slowly in these countries (Siberia, &c.) is, that the small demand for labour prevents the distribution of the produce of the soil; which, while the divisions of land remain the same, can alone make the lower classes of society partakers of the

the plenty which it affords." Here is a check, enormous in its operation. Can Mr. Malthus force it under any one of his special checks, with any truth or consistency? In the countries referred to, there is confessedly abundance of food; yet the increase of the people is checked by the *small demand of labour*, which he attributes to the disproportionate divisions of the land.—Here, then, this production of food and men is obstructed by the vast inequality of property. To what compartment of his checks is this check adapted? And mark his contradictions. He states that "the principal and most permanent cause of poverty has little or no direct relation to forms of government or the unequal division of property; and that, as the rich do not in reality possess the power of finding employment and maintenance for the poor, the poor cannot, in the nature of things, possess the right to demand them." I tell you again, from Paley, that it is the poor who support the rich; and it is contrary to the nature of things, for the rich to demand more from the poor than they can conveniently grant. The question between the rich and poor is not whether the rich should give or maintain, but whether they should take and impoverish. The unequal division of property, in one of the last passages quoted, he says, prevents the produce of the soil and the increase of the people; and yet in the last passage he holds a contrary opinion. And so much does the state of property enter into his economical views, that he insists that the specific cause of the poverty and misery of the lower classes of people in France is the extreme subdivision of property in that country.

Mark again the effect of the unequal division of property in respect to this subject, and his confusions. He says, "In countries where, from the operation of particular causes, property in land is divided into very large shares, there arts and manufactures are absolutely necessary to the existence of a considerable population. Without these, modern Europe would be unpeopled." Here, again, the forms of government and the unequal division of property, which he treated as nought respecting the comforts of the lower orders, are so mighty, that, if their perniciousness were not counteracted by arts and manufactures, Europe, he says, would be a desert. So much for his consistency. And under what head of morality, of vice, or misery, are we to class the

check of large shares of property, which, without arts and manufactures, would have left Europe unpeopled?

MR. MALTHUS'S HYPOTHESIS.

He says, "population has this constant tendency to increase beyond the means of subsistence." To make this statement very imposing, he avers that population increases in a geometrical, and food in an arithmetical, ratio, which might be summarily denied by the oracular answer *οὐκ ἔστιν ἀριθμῶν*. This perversion of the terms of an abstract science has deceived many. He proceeds, "The rate according to which the productions of the earth may be supposed to increase, it will not be easy to determine. Of this, however, we may be perfectly certain, that the ratio of their increase must be totally of a different nature from the ratio of the increase of population. A thousand millions are just as easily doubled every twenty-five years, by the power of population, as a thousand; but the food to support the increase from the greater number will by no means be obtained with the same facility." Suppose so; what fact is told, what truth is taught, what conclusion is realized or approached, in consequence?—I can perceive no good in any such supposes. Wallace indulged himself in exhibiting the geometric increase of mankind in the antediluvian world, amounting to 206,158,430,201: "Thus we see," said Wallace, "to what a prodigious multitude mankind must have increased in 1200 years: yet he continues that there was no such increase, nor could it be; adding, "it is easy to institute a calculation according to any assumed hypothesis." Should we follow Mr. Malthus in supposing, we might invert the terms, and assume that food increased beyond the people by a transcendental geometry. If Mr. Malthus supposes that a thousand millions may be doubled every twenty-five years by the power of population, I may suppose that the food of man may be doubled a thousand times in the same period: a herring has 40,000 eggs, a cod fish ten times that number. But without resorting to the ichthyophagi, or going beyond the earth, it appears that in 1788 two bulls and three cows strayed away in New South Wales, who in seven years increased to a herd of a thousand:—Now men live on fish, and flesh, and grain. As to "the incredible increase of a barley-corn," I refer the reader to the treatise of M. P. Knetczmer, counsellor of state to his Prussian majesty. Suppose the

the power of generation in men equal to the increase of the Jews in their sad captivity, or greater still, we may suppose that the animals which they eat are more disposed to generate, as is the food of inferior animals, who live on shrubs, plants, grain, &c. more apt to increase than the animals themselves. I say, I may suppose on these suppositions, that the food of man may multiply far beyond the possible multiplication of man; that is, one extravagance may rebut another; or rather, that two puerile hypotheses may perish together.

The arithmetical and geometrical ratios are jargon. Where property is equitably divided, and labour free, there will be no tendency but to supply what is wanting. Mr. Malthus pleads for discord: yet, where there is neither force nor injustice, all things will repose when rest is necessary, and all will move with the general impulse. This order the ancients called the harmonical.

TRUE CAUSES OF MISERY.

Strange as it may appear to Mr. Malthus, man may be made miserable not only by overbreeding, but by forcing the vigorous into armies, by exacting provisions, by endless taxation, by rapacity and waste, by wars, by court pageants, by castle building, by supporting grand operas and the like,—all these were inflicted on the poor inhabitants of this cold and barren country. When these miseries are considered, Mr. Malthus might as well declare against the overbreeding of a ship's crew, men only being aboard, who, being robbed by pirates, endured short allowance during the remainder of the voyage.

Let us consider the question of pressure under another view: let us dismiss the operation of misgovernment entirely from the argument, and let us make England the ground-work of this study. First, I must state, that I do not say there is no misery in England; on the contrary, I am satisfied that it is urgent and extensive. Yet I say, there is no grievous pressure by population against subsistence. When we talk of population and subsistence, we should consider all the people and all the food. Then, if the sum of one does not exceed the sum of the other, there is no deficiency. If, however, one fifth of the people take five portions of food, leaving the other four parts of the population short by so much of their proportion, this is not properly a pressure of population against food. In like manner, if one part of the community force another

part to labour, while they themselves are indolent, this is not the pressure of labour on population; and, supposing we spoke of such tyranny in Egypt or Palestine, we would say, the Jews were oppressed in one country, and the Canaanites in the other.

How in this country it can be said that population presses against subsistence, I cannot understand, when so much is destroyed; for one half of the food on such occasions is burned, exhausted, evaporated—divided between the fire and the air; and then, of that which escapes culinary consumption, twice as much is eaten as health requires. Compare then in England those who waste and eat and drink inordinately, with those who live sordidly through necessity,—and the pressure on subsistence will be greatly relieved: nor have I any doubt but many more die by satiety than privation. The poor man has complaints, but they are limited by his means; while the retinue of a rich man's disorders equals the extent of his fortune.

“——Some by violent stroke shall die,
By fire, flood, famine, by intemp'rance
more

In meats and drinks, which on the earth
shall bring
Diseases dire.”

DOGS AND HORSES.

I think I might rest the argument here against the pressure of population on subsistence in Britain; and, if I could only strengthen the refutation, I should not increase the proof. But I must ask, How can the pressure be entertained for an instant by any one who has noticed the beasts which the rich support, for jollity, for whim, for I know not what, by the labour of man, that is at the expense of the comforts of the poor? What shall we say of their dogs? Julius Cæsar was to blame, who, seeing some foreigners at Rome with dogs and monkeys in their arms, asked sarcastically if the women of their country had no children. And it may be thought by those who still call Cæsar god, that he prophetically rebuked Frederic the Great, who honoured dogs and not man with monuments. Mr. Malthus has not abused the dog-fancier: no, it is the man, who, being poor, is so *unnatural* as to dote on women and increase his kind:—had he become a beggar by rearing blind puppies, he had passed uncensured by him. But what are lapdogs and the sportsman's dogs—from king Charles's spaniel to the king's buckhounds led by the duke of Montrose—to the studs of hunters and racers,

racers, and the rabble of pampered idle horses which swarm through the land? Do these not press on subsistence? How much do the savage animals corrode and consume of man's food? I speak of those creatures shot and hunted, yet preserved by those who claim a descent from the chiefs of William the Conqueror, and who exhibit the game laws as the title-deeds of their inheritance. Nothing is said of this compound pressure against subsistence, which, in respect to the effects of population on human food, presses or compresses as the vice and screw. One idle horse will consume the food of two men, and he must be attended also. Mr. Colquhoun has computed that inferior animals consume in Great Britain eleven millions of quarters of grain, and men eighteen millions. Would there be a pressure, if what is wasted on useless beasts was left in the hands of the labourer? I do not say given to the poor, but not wrested from the industrious;—the grain imported is a trifle in comparison to the food of man consumed by useless brutes.

Nothing, however, is said by Mr. Malthus on these topics: a lady's pug-dog, or a hound, or a pointer, is unnoticed; but a child too many obtrudes on *nature's feast*. The philosophy of Mr. Malthus, his pressure of population against food, is a new reading of a celebrated parable; it is a tale of Lazarus, omitting Dives and his dogs.

EMIGRATION.

In his chapter on Emigration we are assailed with various absurdities:—indeed they are not few, nor casual, nor shadowy; but general and decided. He says, "Every resource however from emigration, if used effectually, as this would be, must be of short duration. There is scarcely a state in Europe, *except perhaps in Russia*, the inhabitants of which do not often endeavour to better their condition by removing to other countries. As these states, therefore, have nearly all rather a redundant than deficient population," &c. Yet these Russians, the favoured among the nations of Europe, are not permitted to emigrate. Mr. Malthus has been at St. Petersburg. Does he imagine that the Russians are better fed than the British? Why, the people of Britain would consider Russian fare little better than famine; and, by the by, they are forced occasionally to eat the rind of the pine.

BENEVOLENCE.

All inventions, except the very expensive, generally speaking, which se-

cure life, increase being: and this is acknowledged by the greater price required for those articles which are obtained at a greater hazard of life. Life is a private and public concern. He who secures a labourer's life cheapens the produce of industry, or prevents its enhancement with the general rise of prices. Let those who are insensible to their kind, regard them at least as an item in the general account. Sir H. Davy's safety lamp may be considered an actual discovery of richer mines; for it lessens the labour of extracting coal, by adding all those labourers free of expense, who would otherwise have been destroyed by the fire-damp, and by confirming the whole body of miners in their arduous employment. To substitute machinery for climbing boys, will probably add something to the amount of human life; not only as redeeming victims from premature death, but as promoting humanity. The attention to these wretches, and to the lunatic poor, (nor should the names of Mr. Wakefield and Mr. Bennet be forgotten,) evinces increasing humanity; and, in my estimation, this proves increasing population. Whatever generally promotes health, promotes life, and, with increasing years, an increase of people. Some old men are helpless and burthensome—I speak in the unfeeling phrase. However, I have no doubt but that nation, whose people are longer lived, (all things else being the same,) will be more numerously inhabited.—Yet, according to Blumenbach, not more than 78 persons in a thousand die of old age. I have spoken long, I hope not tediously, on health, and on the preservation of the lives of young and old: and with some shame I admit, according to a sordid arithmetic. But thus we must meet the new philosophy. I have considered each child as representing so much stock as was expended in his generation and nurture, which, should he die prematurely, would be lost. I have considered the death of an adult as the destruction of a machine in full work;—and in some respects the loss to population is the same, whether life be ended by intemperance or suicide, by tyranny or violence, on the scaffold or in the field. Each individual

"—————like ripe fruit should drop
Into his mother's lap, or be with ease
Gather'd, not harshly pluck'd, by death
mature."

Such is my philosophy respecting an important particular connected with the increase of population; in which there is

is neither contradiction nor dilemma; and in which the best parts of knowledge concur with the charities and affections of mankind.

SLAVERY.

No country exhibits the evil of war in this respect more strongly than England. Every island and promontory which she gains, though purposely to insure her strength, constantly adds to her army, to her expense, till she has raised a debt, the interest of which equals the present rental of her land. All these,—war, conquest, standing armies,—directly and incidentally waste the substance, destroy the people, and enslave them. And in my mind slavery contains all sorts of depopulation: though so perversely disposed are the apprehensions of some men, that slavery has been considered a means of extreme populousness and extraordinary profits.

But Mr. Malthus concludes that those who are fed must breed:—this is a beastly opinion. No matter, says he, how unjust or tyrannical is the form of government, and how pernicious the climate, population will keep itself up to the level of subsistence. Truly Mr. Malthus is no sentimentalist; he does not even divide the soul, like some of the ancients, into the sensitive and the nutritive: the extent of a man's platter measures all his capabilities. How many beasts die, sooner than eat when confined! how many who live, disdain to produce their kind! Yet feed man, and he will breed; nay, breed in proportion to his feeding; no matter where, though he be doubly plagued both by climate and despotism.

Mr. Malthus, in effect, refers man's race to a lower origin than those who derived him from the ape, or from a quadruped, or with Maillet from the piscatory tribes. Slavery and man are incompatible:—I speak of man as a rational moral being. Slavery stuns and stupifies the civilized creature:—then how must it operate on those who have not enjoyed habits of intellectual culture? Slavery weakens the arms, and bows the body, the mind, the senses; the appetites, except those which injure, are impaired by it; and it is alike destructive both of the oppressed and their oppressors.

Liberty is the want of man. Von Sach, speaking of the slaves in Surinam, says, though well-treated, they are declining in number, while the Bush Negroes, who escaped from this wasting colony into the woods, have increased so as to press on the possessions of their

former masters. Did they find a feast of nature in the wilderness? No; but they carried with them an independent spirit; and this procured for them what their masters and fellow-countrymen, with their cultivated fields, and capital, and accommodations, could not attain.

LIBERTY.

Though I do not say that no free nation can become too populous, I presume that when the government is essentially vicious, the cause of the people's misery is more decisively referable in the first instance to the badness of the government than to the improvidence of the people. This is strictly just; for we know that nations, formerly poor and thinly inhabited, have, with a better government, increased in numbers and comforts; and, on the contrary, that nations populous and opulent, have, with the debasement of their laws and constitution, declined not more in people than in their enjoyments of life. Yet am I ignorant of any nation, which, possessing confirmed liberty and equal laws, has become miserable merely by the excess of its people.

Having reviewed the state of population in different countries and in dissimilar situations, I conclude that neither the populousness of a nation, nor the paucity of its inhabitants, is alarming. It is bad government and unequal laws and disproportioned property that are dreadful;—these render the few and the many miserable: while a nation well governed, or rather not misgoverned, increases in people, and enlarges their store and their comforts. Thus the United Provinces when they spurned the domination of Spain,—thus the American provinces on their emancipation from Britain,—increased in numbers, opulence, and authority. I also deny that any country in Europe is overpeopled, though Mr. Malthus states the reverse; and I am persuaded, on re-examination, few will believe that the misery of Europe proceeds from superfoetation, but from the rapacity and extravagance of the ruling orders.

STATE OF ENGLAND.

The people are poor, and growing poorer. The cause of this seems to me no mystery. Some say, The more you give them the more they want. The misapplication of funds may increase the mendicant order, I admit; but the poor in England increase not by what is given, but by what is subtracted from the people. The wealth of states was derived from labour, and by labour it must

must be sustained. It seems equally clear, that a certain profit is necessary to support capital, and certain wages to support labour. Thence it follows, that, after a certain charge on capital, it will escape abroad or perish at home; that this will affect the wages of labour, as it curtails the means of employment; and should wages, beside their depreciation in consequence, be lessened by direct or indirect charges, poverty must ensue. That this has happened, I shall evince by a recital of the repeated and enormous impositions on the people of England.

The waste of the people's money by the House of Commons is almost incredible. William Pitt attributed former wars to the corruption of the House of Commons; and he insisted, that without reform the nation would be hurried into new debts and new wars, and that no honest minister could serve the nation. He gave the argument and the example—the prophet marvellously accomplished his own prediction.

It is wonderful how any nation could support such universal waste. The British subsidized almost every nation in Europe with many millions; and she alternately fought and subsidized the same nation; she became security also for some, and of course liquidated their debts. She bound herself for Austria to her own money-lenders; and she pays them, and must continue to pay them. She remitted ten millions sterling to the French, due for the maintenance of their prisoners, as part of the bonus for their submission to Louis. She pensioned the emigrant French priests, and continues to pay them. She paid Ferdinand's travelling expenses from Valencia to Madrid; Louis the Eighteenth's from London to Paris; the Pope's from Bologna to Rome. She, to please the prince, raised a monument to the last of the Stuarts. Yet all these were but the outward flourishes of the waste and prodigality of our sad government.

MR. CANNING.

George Canning was not satisfied with 18,000*l.* a-year, and the dignity of ambassador during his attendance on a sick child at Lisbon, nor with pensions to his mother and sisters. Nay, he proved to an admiring parliament that this office was put upon him; that it was a losing trade. He indeed is worth his hire. He disdains to reprove innovations which embraces every improvement from the savage state onward, as beneath his high

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displeasure; he will not tolerate the word reform;—for, while some recommend oxygen, or vital air, to cure consumptions, this *docteur en droit* prescribes the damps of jails as the only medicated atmosphere. Mr. Canning is an orator and an ambassador—so was Demosthenes. But Demosthenes damned Philip and tyrants. Mr. Canning descants against Spence and the Spenceans. When Demosthenes was sent by the republic of Athens to negotiate with the ablest monarch of the age, his salary was about one shilling a day. When Mr. Canning was sent about nothing to nobody, he had fifty pounds a day. Yet who dare doubt the patriotic virtues of Mr. Canning? His virtues shine through him;—nay, virtue is in him like the motion of light in diaphanous bodies;—yet does this miserable man call the people fickle, rebellious, insensate. When has the public voice been declared? The people distinctly condemned the slave-trade, the corn bill; and they have spoken decisively in favour of reformation and economy. Time has justified, and will justify, their determinations. A sneaking enemy, a truckling associate, this sordid man calls all reformers profligates and criminals. Thus, as he exposes his own unprincipled greediness, he riots in popular abuse; and thus he resembles the orator Demades, who sold his country to Philip and Antipater, of whom it was said,—He was as a beast after sacrifice, of which nothing remained but the tongue and paunch.

GEORGE ROSE.

What have been the mighty deeds and achievements of George Rose, who recommends saving banks to the people while he opens the vomitories of the treasury, and who himself, besides lucrative offices, enjoys a sinecure of 8000*l.* a-year, which is confirmed to his son in succession? If the public money were forced out of its direct channels to relieve the necessitous and the distinguished, there might be some colour of argument for the abuse. But what has this sinecurist performed, which might not have been adequately and congenially paid by secret-service money? He wrote an answer to Charles Fox's History, and every observation was false without exception. The whole was a tissue of falsehood. He wrote a pamphlet to prove that the influence of the crown had not increased; when no family, that pretends to gentility, is without a placeman or an expectant. In this pamphlet, he

40

bears

bears testimony to Mr. Pitt's extravagance, who had in 1789 greatly embarrassed himself, and who refused a subscription from ship-owners, &c. to relieve him.

CONCLUSION.

When I praise populousness, I mean distinctively freemen. Of slaves I speak not;—a slave makes one miserable and two vicious. Whatever approaches slavery deranges mind, body, feeling, and language.

Populousness is good, if the government be good; and, as Hume says, "every country will abound with people and their comforts as it is well governed." Under a well-organised constitution, authentic laws, and their prudent administration, the people will improve their intelligence; and this will regulate their number, by ascertaining their wants and conveniences. That constitution is best which effects the greatest good to all without injuring any. If one obtains more than his usefulness merits, if one obtains less than his usefulness deserves, society is disturbed, and in proportion to the amount of the iniquity. Every one should possess absolutely his time and the profits of his labour: and, as the pains to obtain things teach prudence in their use, he who earns will best employ the produce of his industry. In like manner, those who contribute to the public should not merely determine the necessity and quantity of the supply, but superintend its expenditure:—therefore, that representation is most secure which is most popular; and that administration is most efficient which introduces domestic economy into the management of public affairs. Tillage without tithes, trade without excise, intercourse without

toll, commerce without duties, professions without enforced apprenticeships, wages without statutory limitation, industry without control, or formulary, or tax: these establish liberty and security, and consummate human enjoyment. In consequence, whatever lessens expense is good: for expense is supported by labour, labour is onerous, and the burthen is the people's. Utility should be regarded in all political concerns, and utility can only be learned of the people, through the people;—the people are the eye, the light, the object, and the mirror.

Far be it from my philosophy to adorn one with the attributes of all, and to starve the board of many, that he who supports a *royal servitude* may sicken with plethora and kill sense with enjoyment. Still further be it from me to prefer the few to the many: for this multiplies a single mischief, transforms the dog to Cerberus, and the snake to Hydra. The people, the many, the commonalty—these are the only legitimate objects of philosophical legislation. What are patricians as contradistinguished to the people? Parentage. What nobles? The will of one man,—of one weak man, made weaker by flattery and dominion. It is that monstrous perversion—counting the many as ciphers, and one or the few as millions—which has occasioned disaster, distraction, revolutions in states and societies, and which has confounded, outraged, overwhelmed mankind in all countries and ages. The wickedness and infatuation of ambitious individuals to move a great weight by an inferior force, and to continue the extravagance, may be called the *great war*. It contravenes the principles of matter, of mind, of the earth, and universe.

* * * The Editor has the rare fortune, in this Number, to complete forty-five volumes of a periodical work, which, without undue presumption, he may perhaps describe as one of the most popular miscellanies of its time. His editorial career has equalled that of CAVE in duration, while, in bulk, his labours have nearly been doubled. Nor is he afraid of inviting a comparison of this Magazine with that of Cave, in plan, originality, and usefulness; notwithstanding Cave had the good fortune to be aided by a Johnson and a Birch. May the foundation which has been laid in the existing forty-five volumes serve as the basis of a series which will be continued as long as the English language lives; and may the work never cease to support, with equal zeal and consistency, the cause of Science, Literature, and Liberty!

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